

THE TRANSITION FROM LATE BYZANTINE TO EARLY OTTOMAN
SOUTHEASTERN MACEDONIA (14th – 15th CENTURIES)
A SOCIOECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY

By

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Synopsis

The aim of this project is to contribute to the socioeconomic and demographic history of late Byzantium and the early Ottoman Empire by choosing a well-documented region as its particular subject and studying it through the transitional period of the 14th and 15th centuries. As a result, the author works on both sides of the disciplinary frontier between Byzantine and Ottoman studies.

The present approach to the social history of the region is based on the process of the distribution of revenue, which is basically a question of land distribution and proprietorship as it was realized in the general context of a predominantly agrarian economy. The first six chapters include a presentation and analysis of matters concerning the possession and control of lands and related revenues in two different sociopolitical contexts, the late Byzantine one, that is marked by decentralization and centrifugal tendencies, opposite the relatively centralist one of the early Ottoman empire. Under those circumstances the establishment of Ottoman rule resulted in the gradual disappearance of the late Byzantine élite of individual landholders. The monasteries also suffered a serious reduction of the properties they had obtained during the 14th century. On the other hand, the economic structures and productive activities remained basically the same throughout the two centuries that concern us here irrespective of the imposition of a different system of government and the introduction of new cultural elements that accompanied the Ottoman conquest. These matters form the subject of the last two chapters, which deal with the economic structures and productive activities in the towns of the region (Serres, Zichna and Chrysoupolis) and the villages of the countryside. These two chapters also include a discussion on the measure of the region's population, which constitutes the demographic aspect of the study.

In memory of my mother

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Periodical abbreviations

| | |
|------|---|
| AD | Archaialogikon Deltion |
| BF | Byzantinische Forschungen |
| BZ | Byzantinische Zeitschrift |
| DOP | Dumbarton Oaks Papers |
| EEBS | Epetêris Etaireias Byzantinôn Spoudôn |
| EI | Encyclopédie de l' Islam |
| EO | Echos d' Orient |
| İA | İslam Ansiklopedisi |
| JÖB | Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik |
| PLP | Prosopographisches Lexicon des Palaiologenzeit |
| POF | Prilozi za Orientalnu Filologiju |
| REB | Revue des Etudes Byzantines |
| SOF | Südost Forschungen |
| TM | Travaux et Mémoires |
| VV | Vizantiskiih Vremennik |
| WZKM | Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes |
| ZRVI | Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta |

Introduction

Some twenty years ago the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Birmingham undertook the co-ordination of research projects on the broader subject of the transition from the late Byzantine to the early Ottoman society. In anticipation to this plan, several scholars presented the findings of their researches in a conference at Dumbarton Oaks in 1982, as well as in the 1985 Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies that took place in Birmingham and had the title "From Mantzikert to Lepanto"¹. Those conferences brought together a number of studies with the end to illuminate some aspects of the transition. As the relevant papers demonstrate, the researches that have been carried out on this subject are localized and mostly concerned with particular geographic areas, where the availability of documentary material from both the late Byzantine and early Ottoman periods allows a study on a comparative perspective. In this respect, some special emphasis has been given to Trebizond and its hinterland, to the island of L  mnos, and to areas of southern Macedonia.

As far as the latter area is concerned, several scholars have taken grasp of the survival of enough primary-source material from the late middle ages and have studied several aspects of its history in those dates. However, the generalized and broad theme history of the region still needs to be written.

The better documented areas of late medieval southern Macedonia are found first in the Chalkidik   peninsula and second in the lower Strymon valley and the lowlands between Mt. Paggaion and the mountains north of Serres. The second area has been chosen as the subject of the present study, a study of local history conceived in the prospect of contributing to the socio-economic and demographic history of the Balkans in

the transitional period of the 14th and 15th centuries. This research is carried out over a territory of not a limited extent and by combining sources and methodology of the Byzantine as well as the Ottoman history in order to provide an integrated approach in the long term of the aforementioned two centuries.

The geographic area of the present study is given in the title of the thesis as “Southeastern Macedonia” which needs here a more detailed definition and some explanatory remarks. In general geographic terms, southeastern Macedonia is the wider area expanding from east of Thessalonica to the river Nestos and from the Aegean coast to today’s frontier between Greece and Bulgaria. In fact, this study does not cover the whole of that area but only part of it. It concentrates on the lower Strymon valley and the area stretching from Mt. Paggaio to the mountains north of Serres and beyond them². In terms of modern administrative geography it includes most of the administrative department of Serres, with the exception of the sub-district of Sidêrokastro, and the most westerly parts of the departments of Drama and Kabala. The districts of Kabala and Drama proper as well as the district of Sidêrokastro have not been included in the area of the study, as a consequence all references to “Southeastern Macedonia” hereafter should be understood as referring to the particular area where this study concentrates and not to the whole of the wider geographic area that is generally characterized by that name.

The reason for this limitation in the geographic extent of the study has to do with the availability of sources and data. Since this project has an important Byzantine dimension it could not expand to areas where the socio-economic and demographic aspect cannot be properly studied for lack of relevant data. In this respect, the regions of Kabala, Drama and Sidêrokastro are very poorly documented for the period before the Ottoman

conquest, while the areas included in this study are well represented in the charters of the Athonite archives and those of St. John Prodromos monastery near Serres.

According to the late Byzantine administrative arrangements, the presently studied area was separated in six small provinces, *katepanikia*, the one of Strymôn, laying west of the river and being depended on the major province (*theme*) of Thessalonica, and those of Serres, Zichna, Popolia, Zabaltia and Brontou-Trilission all dependencies of the *theme* of Serres and Strymôn and laying east of the river³. After the Ottoman conquest and by the middle of the 15th century, when the earliest surviving register – the TTD-3 of 1454/55 – illuminates the territorial administrative arrangements, the same lands were organized into three districts, the *vilayets* of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik, which were territorially identical more or less to the six late Byzantine provinces mentioned above.

The early Ottoman administrative arrangements, as they are reflected in the *defters*, gave the inspiration for setting the territorial basis of this study. The three *vilayets* of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik extend to an area of a considerable size that includes the major city of Serres, one of the most important in the late medieval Balkans, another town – Zichna – and about 200 rural settlements, and comprise the whole part of the land that retains enough documentary evidence from the 14th century.

This study is based almost entirely on documents, especially on documents of a registerial nature. The Byzantine material of the 14th century is not very extensive and is represented by a few *praktika*, inventories of property and revenue expected to be held by an owner of property, a grantee of fiscal revenue, or a lord with rights of control on a number of peasants (the members of the late Byzantine élite usually combined all the former). Not surprisingly the few *praktika* that survive can be found in monastic archives

(either of the Mt. Athos monasteries or at the local one of St. John Prodromos) since those monasteries had evolved to the wealthiest lords and proprietors of this region in the course of the 14th century. The *praktika* contain lists of peasants who were assigned to a particular lord and for whom the register was drawn up, including sometimes the entire population of a village, thus they resemble a modern census register. Apart from the *praktika*, which are the most valuable 14th-century source for such a kind of study, an important contribution is offered by other kinds of documents, such as charters of property transfer or confirmation of rights of possession.

For the 15th century, since the area had been incorporated in the Ottoman state by 1383, this study relies almost entirely on the fiscal registers, the *tahrir defterleri*. Fortunately enough, the surviving *defters* for this region are quite old, the earliest one, the TTD-3, dating from 1454/55, the second one, the TTD-7, from 1478/79, and both belong to the *mufassal* type, i.e. they are detailed ones containing the names of all liable to taxation inhabitants and breaking up the amount of tax paid by each community in accordance to its source. Since these *defters* have only recently been brought to light, the TTD-7 in particular is completely unpublished, and they have met with little use by the historians, they have been proved a source of valuable original information and, as a result, shifted the balance of this study to the direction of its Ottoman component. In any case, every effort was made in order to deal adequately with the pre-Ottoman background and the Byzantine antecedents to Ottoman forms that took shape in this region during the 15th century.

The scientific study of this region was stipulated by the publication of the monastic collections which was materialized at a first stage early in the 20th century by Russian

scholars affiliated with the *Vizantiskiih Vremennik* of St. Petersburg. A new, fuller and properly commented edition was undertaken by Paris based scholars during the recent decades, which is almost completed by the present day. This second phase of editorial work on the documents of Mt. Athos and St. John Prodromos came side by side with the development of scientific publications concerning this region. First of all, the volumes of published documents are of a great importance for they contain proper commentaries illuminating matters of prosopography, topography and terminology. Then, a number of studies have been continuously coming out since 1945 when Paul Lemerle published his *Philippe et la Macédoine orientale à l' époque chrétienne et byzantine*, a study dealing adequately with the political history of the region⁴. A most important contribution was given by Aggeliki Laiou-Thomadaki in 1977. Her *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire* is a generalized study dealing with the whole of the Byzantine world, but since most of the primary material is concerned with Macedonia her discussion gives particular emphasis in this region by using the village of Gomatou in Chalkidikê as a case study⁵. The importance of her work lies mostly on exposing the directions and thematology that research can take in the area of socio-economic and demographic history through the using of monastic documents as a source. A scholar who has paid some special attention to the region of Southeastern Macedonia is Jacques Lefort, one of the leading editors of athonite documents. He paid some particular attention to the village of Radolibos for which he published some monographic articles, one of them read in 1982 at the Dumbarton Oaks symposium in conjunction with a paper by Heath Lowry on the same village for the 15th century⁶. Another project in progress, an archaeological and topographic one, concerns the Strymôn estuary. In part of this project the study of

Byzantine topography in that area has been undertaken by Archibald Dunn whose findings on medieval Chrysoupolis and other settlements of the area have been published in a number of articles⁷. The main body of works on late Byzantine Southeastern Macedonia is completed by a monograph on the city of Serres in the 14th century by Bozidar Ferjančić, who studies matters of lay and ecclesiastical administration giving particular emphasis to local élites and to the interaction between locals and Serbs during the period of Serbian rule⁸.

For a period in which little can be done on local history in the absence of detailed information from literary sources, scholarly research is only developed with the bringing to light of documents. Consequently, practically nothing was written on the history of this region in the 15th century before the Ottoman documents, the *tahrir defters* in particular became known and accessible. With the exception of Elizabeth Zachariadou who has worked on the collection of Ottoman documents of St. John monastery (*fermans* and *berats*)⁹, all other scholars who did some work on this region for the 15th century, and the early Ottoman period in general, relied on the *tahrir defters*.

One of the pioneers in the use of the *tahrir-defters*, Tayyib Gökbilgin, is the first who included this area in a study based on that kind of documents. However, he has not contributed a lot, for as far as the region in question is concerned he limited his presentation in a single reference to particular *has*-domains, *mülks* and *vakıfs* existing there. His work is more valuable with the case of tax-farms (*mukataa*) for which he provides more information derived from appropriate documents, such as in the case of Achinos lake and the farming of fishing dues there¹⁰.

Two decades passed after Gökbilgin's publication, until other scholars began working on Southeastern Macedonia by using the *tahrir-defters* as their principal source. During the 1970's work was done simultaneously but not in co-ordination in Paris, by Nicoara and Irene Beldiceanu, as well as in Skopje by Metodija Sokoloski and Aleksandar Stojanovski. During their researches on many *tahrir-defters* the former took notice of the TTD-3 and TTD-7 and used some information contained in them for writing some monographic articles on specific subjects, including studies on the monastery of St. John Prodromos and the monastic *timar* assigned to it, the person and possessions of a *mülk*-owner called Palaiologos, the economic situation of the village of Sarmusaklu in 1454/55, and a brief presentation of the dioceses and the size of population in Serres, Zichna and Drama as they appear in both the TTD-3 and TTD-7 (the last one written by N. Beldiceanu in collaboration with P. Nasturel)¹¹.

During the same period Sokoloski and Stojanovski were doing editing work on *tahrir-defters* by publishing whole registers in Macedonian-slavic translations, with a special interest in registers of the 15th century concerned with different regions of broader Macedonia. They included the TTD-3 in their project for which Stojanovski produced a translation that came out in 1978¹². Basic shortcomings of this edition arise from the complete absence of either the original text in a proper transcription or facsimiles. As a result, its scientific credibility is quite reduced, moreover, it seems that the editors had in mind an internal use only, for their translation passed unnoticed among the international community of Ottomanists for many years and even scholars working with the original of this *defter* several years after do not seem to have been informed of that its existence, with Profs. N. Beldiceanu and Heath Lowry as characteristic cases. The author of the

present study has cross-checked this translation with the original text over the whole sections that concern the districts of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik and can assert that it is an attentive representation of the original text save for a few errors and omissions which apparently escaped the editor's attention.

Then, while working on the translation of TTD-3, Sokoloski and Stojanovski used some of the information contained in it in writing two studies, a brief presentation of the *vilayet* of Serres, its administration and settlements by Sokoloski that appeared in the form of an article in 1974, and Stojanovski's book *Gradovite na Makedonija* which includes data from the TTD-3, the TTD-7 and later registers in order to provide the population figures for Serres and Zichna, among other Macedonian towns, during the 15th and 16th centuries¹³. The 1980's are marked by Prof. Heath Lowry's work on the *vilayet* of Keşişlik. Using both the TTD-3 and TTD-7 he produced two articles dealing in general terms with the origins and geographic extent of the *vilayet*, the settlements it included, and their population and revenue in total amounts at the given times by providing lists of comparison¹⁴.

All the aforementioned scholars had in mind a dating of the TTD-3 that was soon to be proved wrong. Beldiceanu and Lowry believed it to date from the year 1464/65 while Stojanovski dated it generally in the 1460's. A reasonable dating of the *defter* was contributed in 1986 by Michael Ursinus, who, by taking into account the data included in the register, proposed the year 1454/55 (859 H.)¹⁵, a dating that is accepted here.

A new push on the study of the region during the 15th century was given in the 1990's, by Greek researchers this time. Since Stojanovski's translation of the TTD-3 became being known, the grasp was taken by A. Karanastasês who used it for producing

an article on the social and demographic situation of the city of Serres at that time¹⁶. Local interest in the city of Serres resulted in a conference that was held in 1993 (but the proceedings were published just in 1999), where some papers concerning the 14th and 15th centuries were given, i.e. those by H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, on general characteristics of late medieval Serres from a theoretical perspective, Aggeliki Laiou on the city's social categories, L. Mavromatis and I. Papaggelos, on mostly unpublished Byzantine documents from the archives of St. John Prodromos and Batopedi, Evangelia Balta, on the demographic situation of the city in the 15th and 16th centuries according the period's *defters* including the TTD-3 and TTD-7, and Socrates Petmezas, on further general observations on the city and *vilayet* of Serres including the professional orientation of the townspeople and identification of the settlements in the countryside¹⁷

Among those contributions the one by Balta came out of a broader project of hers on the *vakıfs* of the region, which took shape in a monograph published in 1994¹⁸. This work which deals with the history and status of the *vakıfs*, as well as with their financial domain, is exhaustive as far as the 16th century is concerned and also accompanied by transcription and facsimiles of the 16th-century registers she used¹⁹. Nevertheless, there is a lot to be done on the subject for the 15th century. Regarding the TTD-3, Balta seems to have relied on Stojanovski's translation, while she has made only a very limited use of the TTD-7 and a lot of the information it contains on the *vakıfs* of the region does not appear in her work.

This literature demonstrates that a lot of work has been done on late medieval Southeastern Macedonia but more remains still to be done especially for the 15th century. Therefore, the aim of this project is to contribute further to the study of the region by

crossing the disciplinary frontier separating the late Byzantine from the early Ottoman period and by providing a generalized approach to the wider region in the perspective of locating the marks of continuity and change in its socio-economic and demographic developments. In its treating the area of the three *vilayets* as a whole, this study pays a proper attention to the town and district of Zichna, for which there is very little that has been written previously. Moreover, some of the previous contributions need to be revised to some extent, for instance Prof. Lowry's lists of Keşişlik villages which fail to include some data relevant to that district for they were recorded in other sections of the *defters*.

The central idea of approaching the subjects of this study is based on the question of how revenue is generated and distributed, moreover by taking into account the role of the state in this process. In this respect, the study comprises three sections, two dealing with the distribution of revenue and subsequent matters of control over its sources, proprietorship, fiscal arrangements and control over the peasantry (lordship), the third dealing with the generating of revenue in town and countryside, more precisely with economic structures, productive activities and the indispensable question of population. The first and second sections of this study, which deal with the distribution of revenue, land-holding and proprietorship in the late Byzantine and early Ottoman periods respectively, are linked by a chapter devoted to the general historic context of the conquest and the first transitional aspects that followed. This is of a particular importance since the *defters* provide a comprehensive picture of the region only in the middle of the 15th century and after.

The demographic aspect of this study interacts with the economic by conceiving the population, its growth and stability, as a productive factor of fundamental importance in

such an example of a pre-industrial society as the one of the present study. In any case the present approach to the population is mainly concerned with its size and measurement. The figures that can be established through the evidence of the sources are compared in a long term perspective, between the first half of the 14th century and the middle of the 15th, and again in a shorter period between 1454/55 and 1478/79, in each case by determining the factors that affected the demographic developments and the evolution of population measures. Other demographic matters, such as family structure, age and the laws of natural movement, have not been included among the subjects of this study.

Notes

¹ AAM Bryer – H. Lowry (eds.), *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society: Papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982*, Birmingham – Washington D.C. 1986 (hereafter: Bryer-Lowry, *Continuity and Change*). AAM Bryer – M. Ursinus (eds.), *From Mantzikert to Lepanto, the Byzantine World and the Turks 1071-1571: Papers given at the 19th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham March 1985*, published in *BF* 16 (1991).

² The area dotted with identifiable settlements in Map 1.

³ Theodoridēs, *Katepanikia*, 21-24, 37-65.

⁴ P. Lemerle, *Philippe et la Macédoine orientale à l' époque chrétienne et byzantine: recherches d' histoire et d' archéologie*, Paris 1945 (Hereafter: Lemerle, *Philippe*).

⁵ A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire: A social and Demographic Study*, Princeton NJ 1977 (Hereafter: Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*).

⁶ J. Lefort, "Radolibos: population et paysage", *TM* 9 (1985), 195-234. *idem.*, "Population and Landscape in Eastern Macedonia during the Middle Ages: the Example of Radolibos", in Bryer-Lowry, *Continuity and Change*, 11-21 (hereafter Lefort, *Radolibos*).

⁷ A. Dunn, "The Byzantine Topography of Southeastern Macedonia: a Contribution", in *D. Lazaridēs Memorial Volume*, Thessalonica 1990, 307-31 (hereafter Dunn, *Topography*). *idem.*, "From Polis to Kastron in Southern Macedonia: Amphipolis, Chrysoupolis and the Strymon Delta", *Castrum* 5 (1999).

⁸ B. Ferjančić, *Vizantijski I Srpski Ser u XIV stoleću*, Belgrade 1994 (hereafter: Ferjančić, *Ser*).

⁹ El. Zachariadou, "Early Ottoman Documents of the Prodromos Monastery (Serres)", *SOF*, 28 (1969), 1-12 (hereafter Zachariadou, *Prodromos*).

¹⁰ T. Gökbilgin, *XV. – XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar – Mülkler - Mukataalar*, Istanbul 1952 (hereafter, Gökbilgin, *Edirne*).

¹¹ N. Beldiceanu and Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Un Paléologue inconnu de la région de Serres", *Byzantion* 41 (1971), 5-17. N. Beldiceanu, "Margarid: un Timar Monastique", *REB* 33 (1975), 227-55 (hereafter Beldiceanu, *Margarid*). *idem.*, "Structures socio-économiques d' un village de Macédoine: Aksilopigadi / Sarmısaklı (1464/65)", *Byzantion* 54 (1984), 26-58. N. Beldiceanu – P. Nasturel, "Les églises byzantines et la situation économique de Drama, Serres et Zichna au XVe siècle", *JÖB* (1978) (hereafter: Beldiceanu-Nasturel, *Les églises*).

¹² Al. Stojanovski, *Turski Dokumenti za Istorijata na Makedonskiot Narod. IV. Opširen Popisen Defter od XV Vek*, Skopje 1978 (hereafter: Stojanovski, *Dokumenti IV*).

¹³ M. Sokoloski, "Serskiot Vilaet vo XV vek", *Glasnik* 18/3 (1974), 107-25. Al. Stojanovski, *Gradovite na Makedonija od Krajot na XIV do XVII vek: Demografski Proučuvanja*, Skopje 1981 (hereafter: Stojanovski, *Gradovite*).

¹⁴ H. Lowry, "Changes in Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Peasant Taxation: the Case Study of Radilofo", in Bryer-Lowry, *Continuity and Change*, 23-37 (hereafter Lowry, *Radilofo*). *idem.*, "The Fifteenth Century Ottoman vilayet-i Keşişlik: Its Location, Population and Taxation", in H. Lowry – D. Quataert (eds.), *Humanist and Scholar: Essays in Honor of Andreas Tietze*, Istanbul – Washington 1993, 15-26 (hereafter: Lowry, *Keşişlik*).

¹⁵ M. Ursinus, "An Ottoman Census Register for the Area of Serres of 859 H. (1454/55)? A Reconsideration of the Date of Composition of Tahrir Defteri TT 3", *SOF* 45 (1986), 25-36 (hereafter Ursinus, *Reconsideration*).

¹⁶ T. Karanastasês, "Henas Neomartyras stis Serres tou b' misou tou 15. aiôna: ho Hagios Iôannês ho Serraios kai hê Akolouthia tou, Ergo tou Megalou Rêtoros Manouêl Korinthiou", *Byzantina*, 16 (1991), 197-262 (hereafter Karanastasês, *Neomartyr*).

¹⁷ These articles are included in Municipality of Serres (ed.), *Hoi Serres kai hê Periochê tous apo tèn Archaia stê Matabyzantiê Koinônia: Proceedings of the International Conference (29 September – 3 October 1993)*, vol. I, Serres 1998. Balta's contribution has been published separately as E. Balta, "Composition démographique et structure de l' habitat dans la ville de Serrès aux XVe et XVIe s.", in Balta, *Problèmes et approches*, 149-66 (hereafter Balta, *Composition démographique*).

¹⁸ E. Balta, *Les vakıfs de Sèrres et de sa région XV-XVIe siècle*, Athens 1994 (hereafter: Balta, *Les vakıfs*).

¹⁹ These are a fragment held in the Sofia National Library of the beginning of the 16th century, and the TTD-70 (1519), TTD-167 (1530/31) and TTD-403 (reign of Süleyman II) of the Başbakanlık Arşivleri.

Chapter 1.

Land distribution and proprietorship during the late Byzantine period (14th century)

i. General considerations

The question of how the sources of revenue are distributed and what use is made of them is of a primary importance for the study of any society and state. In the present case, there is a particular reference to "land distribution" because the region in question had a typically rural character and local social structures were based on a principally agrarian economy. Landed and other rural properties were the main sources of revenue there. Economic activities and sources of revenue other than agrarian were definitely existent but, in most part, just supplementary aspects of an agrarian economy. Those non-agrarian sources of revenue will receive the appropriate comment according to whatever references to them are encountered in the sources. The patterns of possession and control of the land, and other property, are a direct reflection of social trends and, also, of fiscal policies concerned with the problems of generating and maintaining revenues. In these respects, the region of South-eastern Macedonia can make a good case study, because it is one of the few well-documented areas of the Byzantine world, especially in the 14th century.

Athonite charters offer in some instances the categories of land-holding, according to the identity and rank of the holder. All categories of property are recorded in the introduction of two land-inventories (*praktika*) of 1317 for the monastery of Laura. The fiscal officers responsible of their compilation acknowledge their surveying and registering of all landed properties in the province (*thema*) of Strymon, Serres, Mosynopolis and Boleron, i.e. ecclesiastical and monastic, personal properties and lands held by noblemen, military assignments¹.

These categories are easily recognisable. *Ekklesiastikai* (ecclesiastical) are the possessions of ecclesiastical institutions (dioceses, bishoprics and parish churches), while *monastêriakai* (monastic) are those of convents and nunneries, belonging either to independent monastic foundations or to *metokhia*. The lands described as *arkhontikai* (held by notables) and *prosôpikai* (personal) were held by laypersons, the former by rich and notable men, who manned the higher posts of administration and participated in the ruling bodies of provincial towns, the latter by other wealthy individuals. Finally, the *stratïotikai* (military holdings) were granted to individuals in exchange for military service. Cases representing all these groups of proprietors can be observed in South-eastern Macedonia during the 14th century.

Such a classification, like the one of the Byzantines themselves which corresponds to the identity of the holder, has no concern with any essential differences in the forms and structures of land-holding. Land-holding should be viewed as a source of wealth and any essential distinctions have to be made in relation to how this wealth was generated. In this respect, the wealthy land-holders were either in actual possession of real estate (fields of arable land, vineyards etc.), or they had control over a number of peasants from whom they extracted payments in form of cash levies and also had the right to demand from them some labour services. This is a question of lordship of a rather “seigneurial” type of possession. In those cases the peasants were *paroikoi* of the individuals or monasteries that had rights of control on them. Control over the peasantry is usually combined with actual possession of property and both forms provide the basic structures of landed wealth in late Byzantium. When villages appear in the sources to be under the possession of individual persons or monasteries, this means that the “holders” had rights of control over the peasants ascribed to them, principally the right to receive for themselves the basic peasant tax (the *telos*).

Moreover, the lords of the villages were often in direct possession of real estate in the settlement's territory (they usually owned the fields of arable, the pasture lands, the wood and one or more mills). This does not mean that everything in the area of the settlement belonged to the lord. The peasants did have their own pieces of property separate from those of the lord. Nevertheless, if a peasant perished without heirs, his holding would become the lord's who had pre-emptive rights to claim it (the *exaleimma* of Byzantine texts).

On different grounds, in so far as the legal status of possession is concerned, holdings can be distinguished in two categories: those of full ownership, on the one hand, and those of limited ownership, on the other. No Byzantine legal term for full ownership existed but the status of such a possession can be restored by the context in each case. Full ownership meant that the landed or other property was under the absolute and firm possession of the owner who was the only person responsible for its maintenance. It could be alienated, hired out, transmitted, donated, given in inheritance. The only obligation of the owners (individuals or monasteries) was to pay the established taxes to the treasury, unless they were granted immunity for some or all of their assets. The Byzantine documents, either imperial bulls and decrees or functionary acts refer to such domains as "*eleutheron*" (free) or "held under a state of lordship" (*authentikôs*), and most usually as "held in parental right" (*kata logon gonikotêtos*). Freehold properties were usually acquired by imperial offer as well as by inheritance, purchase or donation (principally in the case of monasteries). When dependent peasants were involved, "full-ownership" had the sense that their lord had his control on them established on a permanent basis and could bequeath or transmit them in the same way as with real estate.

Limited or conditional holding is what has been widely known in scholarship as "the *pronoia*", a practice dating back to the 11th century². Three centuries later, in the period of

our interest, the use of the term *pronoia* had declined, and in the few instances it appears its exact legal context is not well defined. The principal meaning of *pronoia* as an institution and fiscal practice had to do with the concession of fiscal revenues to individuals, which did not necessarily mean that the grantees intervened in the economic and other affairs of the territory from which the revenues were extracted. Charanis has suggested that, from the 13th century onwards, this term applied to the concession of large amounts of revenue from entire regions (giving the instance of Licario who received the whole fiscal revenue from Euboea as a grant by Michael VIII), while for the allocation of lesser amounts from subjects confined to a village, a hamlet, or a single estate, another term was in use: that of *oikonomia*³. The same author links the granting of an *oikonomia* with soldiers and military service. In Southeastern Macedonia, however, this practice does not appear in a military context only. Individuals of any rank and identity appear as grantees, the same as monastic foundations. The practice of *oikonomia* meant a right of usufruct, or usufruct and occupancy, upon the property which was assigned to the grantees, but not absolute ownership.

It is very likely that lands ceded under the *oikonomia*-scheme were previously under the direct control of the fisc (*dêmosiakai*), i.e. of the state. An *oikonomia* could be transferred to the direct heir of its holder, usually under the same conditions as before. In many cases the holders of *oikonomiai* succeeded in turning them into properties of full ownership which usually required imperial approval and confirmation through the drawing up of a *chrysobull*. Those grants was not bound to any particular social stratum, but the amount of assigned revenues could differ considerably from one case to another.

Moving towards a closer examination of all groups of land-holders, the first task is to define the forms of fiscal lands (*dêmosiakai gaiai*), i.e. the lands of the state. It can be argued that practically every land and property in the empire belonged to the state, consequently to

the emperor. Such a statement can be reasonably based on the ground that it was the emperor who defined the status and future of every individual possession. Nevertheless, the Byzantine social organisation relied on an institutional basis and background. In so far as the question of ownership is concerned, the establishment of possession was safeguarded by the very fact that the imperial acts defined and guaranteed the terms and conditions upon which the possession of properties - either of full or limited ownership - depended. In this context the domain of the church, monasteries and notables was founded on a safer ground, for their acquisition of property was usually accompanied by imperial acts of guarantee. But possession was far from being definitely ensured. There is plenty of reference to usurpation by other proprietors and trespass by functionaries. In such cases appeals were made and additional bulls were drawn up in order to settle the dispute. A change in imperial economic policies might turn against some groups of holders. During the Palaiologan period Byzantine monasteries experienced periods of reduction of their property in favour of military grants. Equally, a notable who fell into disfavour could see his properties being confiscated (such an attitude was common during the civil wars of the 14th century against the supporters of the losing side).

Small holders were not provided with the assurances of the rich ones. For them it was easier to lose their economic independence and become *paroikoi* in case the emperor granted their settlement to an individual or a monastery⁴. But whatever the impact of imperial policies might have been for any independent small-holders (they are not certain to have existed at all in that period), the fisc itself had its own dependent peasants, and consequently estates under its own maintenance. This becomes clear by a document of 1319, which deals with land and *paroikoi* in the island of Lemnos that belonged to the fisc but were at that time claimed by a nearby *metokhi* of Grand Laura⁵. Nevertheless, any landed properties that were held directly

by the fisc are not likely to have been too many, because those were the first to be allocated through the practice of *oikonomia*-grants.

Another question that arises concerns the imperial estates. Their function must have been to provide revenues directly to the emperor, the imperial family and the palace. Therefore, it is not certain whether they can be identical with those held by the fisc. In any case, the Palaiologoi as a family certainly had much of wealth before Michael's VIII accession to the throne and their personal property would have been increased afterwards. Two cases of imperial estates can be observed in South-eastern Macedonia. In the first case imperial domain was established over the village of Bernarous, as we are informed by acts of Andronikos II dated in 1304 and 1322 and describing it as a “*zeugêlateion* of his royalty”⁶. The second case has to do with the village of Potholinos and its allocation to an empress. Information about that is given in a later charter, a *chrysobull* by John V of 1365, where it is mentioned that the village was once held by the empress Irene (in the sense that the revenues from that village were assigned to her)⁷. The latter is identifiable either with Irene-Yolanda de Montferrat, wife of Andronikos II, or with Irene Asanina, wife of John VI Kantakouzênos: the two empresses with this name prior to 1365. The second one must be rather excluded because John Kantakouzênos did not have control of this territory during his reign (1347-54). So, the empress of the present case can safely be identified as Irene-Yolanda and the estate should have been granted to her during her period of reigning.

ii. Individual land-holding

Individual land-holding is defined in the grounds of distinguishing it from “institutional”, i.e. ecclesiastical and monastic in particular, in the sense that all possessions of individual personalities constitute one main category versus those of religious bodies. This kind of distinction is not based on a scheme of lay versus monastic land-holding, because not

all individual holders of landed property, who are encountered in 14th-century Southeastern Macedonia, were laymen. Clerics and monks too appear in possession of personal properties, distinct of those of the monasteries they belonged to. Gerbasios for instance, the abbot of Chilandar, had by imperial decree received property at Choudêna in 1319, which he transferred to his monastery just in 1335⁸. During the 16 years in between, those assets remained his own private property. In a similar way, Kallinikos, another monk of Chilandar, had obtained possession of the convent of St. Nicholas in Kamenikeia in 1321, which he personally held for two years before transferring it to the monastery of Chilandar in 1323⁹.

Another matter to be sorted out is the extent of the present definition of individual land-holding in terms of amount of property. The small-holding peasants of the region, who made up the vast majority of its total population, were land-holders indeed. Nevertheless, they do not concern us here. It is more appropriate to deal with them and their possessions in a specific and more relevant chapter of the present study. The individuals studied in this particular chapter are those who were in possession of a substantial amount of property permitting us to regard them as “wealthy land-holders”. In any case, it might be too fargoing if we set a specific lower limit of property and use it as a determinant for distinguishing between peasant and wealthy land-holder. It is preferred not to do so and, by relying on means, it is safe to expect that a typical land-holder of the region would have had a property many times larger than the average peasant. For instance, the largest amount of arable land to be found under a single peasant’s possession in the sources, is 87 *modioi* (7.73 hectares) owned by a man called Dragotas in the village of Rachoba¹⁰. This looks really insignificant compared with the 1050 *modioi* (93.31 hectares), making up only one of the properties which Charitôn, the *prôtonobelissimos*, from Serres sold to Kosmas Pagkalos prior to 1313¹¹. Moreover, the average amount of vineyards in peasant possession was 4.93 *modioi* (0.43 hectares) and the

largest amount of vineyard to be held by a peasant was 49 *modioi* (4.35 hectares). Facing these numbers, some idea of how much vineyard could be owned by a wealthy land-holder is given by Theodora Aggelina Kantakouzênê who, in 1337/38 only, bought from several individuals of Serres vineyards totalling 81¾ *modioi* (7.26 hectares)¹². In this case the difference is not so striking but it is important to take into account that this is the amount of vineyard Kantakouzênê acquired in that particular year, not the whole of what she had owned, and also that the wealthy landowners do not usually appear in possession of extensive vineyards, they were more interested in arable lands. Apart from the important difference in amount marking the possessions of wealthy land-holders in comparison to those of peasants, another basic criterion of their distinction lies in the fact that the former made their fortune out of the land without having to work on it themselves. Their lands were exploited either through the work of dependent peasants (*paroikoi*) under their control or by hired labour.

Viewing the wealthy land-holders as a social group, it was a vast one and comprised men of different backgrounds and economic standing. Such a vast group included representatives of the richest and most notable families of the capital and, to a lesser degree Thessalonica, which provided the empire with highest-ranked statesmen, the local wealthy class including the provincial *archôns* who manned the local administrative posts, men who received properties and revenues in return for services (soldiers in particular), clericals and monks, and, finally, foreigners. Representatives of all these particular groups are encountered as land-holders in Southeastern Macedonia during the 14th century.

Beginning with the first group of the great notable families, the most elaborate examples are given by Theodore Metochitês (“prime-minister” of the emperor Andronikos II) and the family of Kantakouzênos, John Kantakouzênos and his mother Theodora Aggelina Kantakouzênê in particular¹³. Members of the Palaiologan family, i.e. close relatives of the

emperors are also encountered, namely Michael Palaiologos (a cousin of Andronikos II), Theodora Palaiologina the *Grand Doukaina* (niece of Andronikos II) and Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropinê (supposedly a sister of Andronikos III)¹⁴. The family of Choumnos is represented by Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina, daughter of the distinguished statesman and scholar Nikêphoros Choumnos. Another Choumnos, John, who appears in 1344 taking control of the village of Loktista as a reward for his partisanship to John V, cannot be safely identified but he could have been a grand-son of Nikêphoros¹⁵. Other well-known statesmen of the 1330's are present among the land-holders of this region, such as Theodore Synadênos the *prôtostratôr*, Michael Monomachos, governor of Thessalonica then of Thessaly up to 1342, and the most renowned member of the notable Thessalonican family of the TzAMPLAKÔN, Arsenios¹⁶. Later on, the coastal part of the region is dominated by the two brothers, John the *Grand Primmikêrios* and Alexis the *Grand Stratopedarchês*, of uncertain origins, who in 1357 carried out a private operation to drive the Serbs away and the areas they occupied were recognized by the emperor, himself unable to re-establish a direct control of the state there, as their personal dominions. It is supported that all lands and revenues previously under state control became theirs¹⁷.

All previously cited personalities are, themselves or the families they represent, well-known from several sources for their principal position in the political or intellectual life of 14th-century Byzantium and all came from the capital except of the TzAMPLAKÔN family who were residents of Thessalonica. One who is otherwise unknown is Constantine-Kosmas Pagkalos. He certainly was not a Serrean, however he made an impressive entry in the property transactions of this town by some massive purchases, mainly by the wealthy local notable Charitôn, which point to a substantial fortune for Pagkalos¹⁸. The previously mentioned persons resided elsewhere and had no close relation with the region of South-

eastern Macedonia. The properties they held there were some among the many they owned in different Byzantine lands. On certain occasions, some of them were associated with the region a little more. John Kantakouzênos, the richest man in Byzantium in his day, informs in his memoirs that the properties he owned in the district of Serres exceeded in size his possessions in any other place¹⁹. For this reason, probably, he had an especially strong feeling for this region, as shown by his willingness to patronize the monastery of St. John Prodromos, and then by the bitterness he expresses to the fact that the Serreans stood strongly against his party during the civil war. On the opposite side, it was the same fierce opposition of the Serreans to Kantakouzênos that drove Michael Monomachos to chose to settle in Serres after he was forced out of his command by a pro-kantakouzênian uprising that prevailed in Thessaly²⁰.

Side by side with the aristocratic families of Constantinople and Thessalonica, the second group of the late Byzantine landowning upper-class is that of the local land-holders. They made up a provincial elite whose representatives occupied high positions in the civil, military and ecclesiastical administration and manned the bodies of local government (e.g. the “senate” of provincial towns). Those provincial *archôns* often appear to carry titles of distinction, such as *sebastos* or *pansebastos*, at the same time they are described in the documents with marks like “*eugenestatos*” (most noble), and often as “*oikeios tê basileia*” (known to the royalty) which means an acquaintance of the emperor or someone with access to the court. Certainly, all wealthy land-holders in the provinces were not recipients of such royal honours, but even those who were not can equally be viewed as members of the provincial elite for the considerable amounts of property they had in their possession.

The provincial land-holders are generally believed to have had, in most cases, their residences in the towns. In South-eastern Macedonia, characteristic examples are given by Charitôn, George Troulênos, George Phokopoulos and the Disypatoi brothers, living in

Serres, by Constantine Acheiraitês and John Masgidas in Zichna, and by John Margaritês for whom there is no certain evidence whether he lived in Serres or in Zichna (in any case he was active in both towns)²¹. This gathering of the land-holders of the countryside in the towns can be explained by their need to be together in the place where the centre of power lay, and so to protect their interests more effectively. Nevertheless, opposite cases of land-holders living within the area of their estates are equally encountered. An example, in the region of the present study, is given by the family of Modênos, whose estates lay in the territory of the village of Sdrabikion. As a matter of fact, the Modênoi had their residence in that village, not in Serres or Zichna, as is shown by their acts of donation which were drawn up locally and sanctioned by the clergy of neighbouring Kaisaropolis (seat of a bishopric)²².

The fortunes of wealthy land-holders in late Byzantium were primarily based on their personal possessions of full ownership. Moreover, they were often allocated properties and revenues of the state (under the scheme of *oikonomia*) which contributed extra profit to them. Even some of the most prominent and rich men in the empire, such as John Kantakouzênos and Arsenios Tzamlakôn, held assignments of state revenue apart from their immense personal domain²³. Nevertheless, the assignments of state revenues were mostly addressed to men offering services, soldiers in particular. Those who joined the, feeble by all means, armed forces of the late Byzantine state can be distinguished in different categories in respect of their hierarchical position, the amount of their pay and the subsequent social status they enjoyed. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the small-holding soldiers, former peasants (*paroikoi* in particular) in possession of modest farms. In return of their military service they were simply relieved of the taxes and other obligations pertaining to a *paroikos*; at the utmost, they would be given a *paroikos* of their own to care for the farm during their absence on campaign²⁴. Here we are not concerned with those men, who socially belonged to the peasantry, but with higher

ranking soldiers of better economic standing. In the latter group were included officers, cavalymen, or men who are simply described as soldiers (*stratiôtês*) but with much more in their possession compared to the small-holding ones, e.g. a certain Martinos who was involved in a long dispute with the monastery of St. John Prodromos over an estate in Monospiton²⁵. The profitable assignments of soldiers like Martinos indicate a higher ranking in the military organization or they reflect a practice similar to the Ottoman *timar*, that well paid soldiers had to arm extra men to accompany them on campaign. Usually recorded outputs of military *oikonomiai* amount to around 30 to 40 *hyperpyra*²⁶. High ranked and well paid military men, in control of properties and revenues allocated by the state, can safely be viewed as part of the land-holding elite and they were often honoured in an equal way to the provincial notables. Moreover, the *oikonomia* holding soldiers did not necessarily rely only on the properties and revenues that the state assigned to them. On the contrary, their economic situation permitted them to acquire extensive private property, thus they can be easily supposed to have built up their personal domain.

Another category of individual land-holders is that of clerics and monks. It is generally believed that when men and women decided to abandon secular life and enter a convent they transferred their possessions to that convent at the time of entering it; this was a common practice indeed. There is evidence, however, of monks who continued to hold their personal properties, separate of those of their convent, and furthermore carried on with their private acquisition of extra properties, as shown by the cases of Gerbasios, abbot of Chilandar, and Kallinikos, monk in the same monastery. The properties they acquired during their monastic life were finally transferred to the monastery they belonged to but this took place after they had held those properties privately for shorter or longer periods of time²⁷.

The final category of individual land-holders in South-eastern Macedonia during the 14th century is the group consisting of foreigners. The most elaborate cases are given by the Serbian *kral* Stephen Uroš II Milutin and the Bulgarian *čar* Michael Asen II. The involvement of those royal personalities in the process of property acquisition in a Byzantine province was of a limited nature and had a very special interest concerned with their support to their favourite “national” monasteries of Chilandar and Zographou respectively. In 1300, the Serbian *kral* made use of his warm, at the time, relations with the Byzantine emperor and his father-in-law, Andronikos II, and required to take possession of the village of Kastrion, which had recently been taken back from the monastery of Chilandar by the Byzantine state²⁸. Stephen held the village for a short time as a private domain before offering it officially to the same monastery. In a similar way, Michael Asen II, the Bulgarian *čar* obtained by purchase the village of Prebista in 1325 having in mind a subsequent transfer to the monastery of Zographou²⁹.

Other non-Byzantines who happened to acquire property in Byzantine Macedonia had a stronger personal interest in them. A known example is given by Chrelja, the semi-independent dynast of Štip and Štrumica who had taken active part in the Byzantine civil wars of the 1320's and 1340's³⁰. We are informed by Grêgoras that at the outbreak of the second civil war Chrelja was in possession of several villages in the valley of the Strymon down to the sea³¹. This does not mean that he had political power on that Byzantine province, but proprietorial rights of economic control on those villages in the same way as the Byzantine lords. The villages mentioned by Grêgoras were, most likely, Chrelja's reward for the services he offered to the young Andronikos in 1328 by advising the Serbian *kral* not to oppose his accession to the Byzantine throne³². Since 1344 and 1345, the years when Serbian rule was finally imposed on this region, several Serbs came in and took possession of properties, as the

case of George Stanisa elaborates. The latter, a powerful personality and governor of Hierissos in 1365, is reported to have taken possession of landed properties in the vicinity of the village of Chandax³³.

The development of individual land-holding in South-eastern Macedonia during the 14th century, under Byzantine and Serbian rule alike, is marked by a continuous expansion of private ownership and an increase in the number of personal domains. This process certainly lasted for the whole course of the century until as late as 1371, at the aftermath of the battle of Černomen, when the future emperor Manuel Palaiologos took control of the region and is generally supposed to have reclaimed lands and revenues to allocate them as military grants.

The expansion of private domains was materialized in two directions, first at the expense of state-owned lands and sources of revenue, second through the market process and individual purchasing. Since the early years of the century already, the weak government of Andronikos II, in need of support, appears to have allowed the establishment of private ownership on properties which were until that time conditionally assigned to notables and dignitaries as *oikonomiai*. Examples have survived in the sources, the most characteristic given by the case of Manuel Aggelos the *patrician*. The latter was in possession of an estate in Ptelea, by the Strymon, and others in the district of Thessalonica, which were first assigned to his father, as an *oikonomia*, and then were held by himself under the same conditions. In 1306, however, he was given the right of full ownership by imperial decree. From that moment, the estate in Ptelea became a personal property of his, free from any obligation and unrestricted. He could exploit it as he liked, bequest, sell or make it donation³⁴. Other examples of individuals who succeeded in turning their *oikonomia* holdings in property of full ownership are given by Alexios Diplobatzês, a military judge, in 1307, and the army officer John Panaretos in 1313³⁵. There are more cases of individuals who established by imperial decree

their private ownership on sources of revenue, formerly under state control, but it is not always known whether they were already in possession of them as a conditional assignment (e.g. a certain Dragôn who was given unrestricted control of part of the village of Melintzianê in 1324)³⁶.

In a different manner, the wealthy landowners expanded their domain by purchasing property from other individuals. Economically strong personalities appear especially interested in increasing their property by proceeding to massive buys. The sellers could be other wealthy landowners, such as Charitôn who sold important assets to Kosmas Pagkalos, but more usually, they were small-holders with modest sized properties. Apart from the important pieces of property he bought from Charitôn, Kosmas Pagkalos also bought modest sized ones from several other individuals³⁷. Furthermore, in the course of one year only (1337/38), Theodora Kantakouzênê created an impressive domain by acquiring many pieces of small property she bought from about 100 individuals of Serres³⁸. Apparently, the difficult economic conditions of the time made small property vulnerable to the expansion of large domains.

Individual land-holding was in those times strongly affected by political developments. Internal strife, which appeared often in 14th-century Byzantium, usually resulted in the confiscation and redistribution of property held by those who joined the losing side. The end of the conflict between the old and the young Andronikos with the victory of the second meant the downfall of Theodore Metochitês, principal statesman in the administration of the old emperor. His downfall was accompanied by a confiscation of his possessions, a fact shown in the area of the present study by an estate he owned in Gastileggous which was transferred to the monastery of St. John Prodromos³⁹.

The practice of confiscation was put in effect once again during the second civil war between John Kantakouzênos and the regency of John V. At the outbreak of the conflict late

in 1341, Kantakouzênos himself saw his properties in the district of South-eastern Macedonia being confiscated and given to supporters of the regency. The same happened with the possessions of his supporters, i.e. Arsenios TzAMPLAKÔN and other less known personalities⁴⁰. A similar fate should have met the local properties of Theodore Synadênos, who tried to retain a neutral position, but was always mistrusted by the regency and finally persecuted after 1342⁴¹. The main beneficiaries of those re-distributions were men like John Margarîtês who, from then onwards became a well-known notable of the region, and John Choumnos for whom we are informed by a *chrysobull* signed by John V in 1344 that he was rewarded for his fidelity with property previously held by a certain Maurophôros, a “treacherous person” (i.e. an opponent of the regency)⁴².

John Kantakouzênos was not going to take back any of his possessions in South-eastern Macedonia. Under the government of Guy de Lusignan and then Constantine Palaiologos, both of them fanatic supporters of the regency, this region resisted successfully all efforts by Kantakouzênos to establish control there⁴³. Finally, when the fortunes of the war turned to Kantakouzênos’s side, the area was captured by the Serbs. They took Serres in September 1345 but had already established control over the surroundings and Zichna the previous year)⁴⁴. The establishment of Serbian control in the region seems to have had no drastic effect on the matter of landownership. Several Serbs came in and obtained possession of lands (e.g. George Stanisa who appears as governor of Hierissos in 1365) but the local Byzantine land-holders retained theirs, especially the anti-kantakouzênist ones who had benefited from the recent re-distributions, and continued occupying a prominent social position. During the reign of Stephen Dušan men like John Margarîtês, George Phokopoulos in Serres and John Masgidas in Zichna appear as recipients of royal honours and are described in chapters of the Serbian emperor as “persons close to his royalty”. The prominence of the

local Byzantine élite continued in the same way after Dušan's death in the years when the region became a more or less independent principality, ruled first by Dušan's widow Helena-Elizabeth (1355-65), then by John Uglješa (1365-71). During those years, with the exception of Serbian metropolitans in Serres and a Serbian governor, Radoslav, who assisted the empress in her command, all others who occupied the higher administrative posts, at least in the towns of Serres and Zichna, were Byzantines⁴⁵. Nevertheless, while the locally residing Byzantine land-holders retained their possessions during the years of Serbian rule, those of Constantinople or Thessalonica actually lost them. When the Serbs were driven away from the coastal part of the region by the brothers John and Alexis, who established their own autonomous principality there in 1357, some previous proprietorships seem to have been restored (e.g. a heir of Arsenios Tzamlakôn appears to have held part of an estate which the family had owned in the past at Prinarion inside the area where John and Alexis had established their control)⁴⁶. Nevertheless, any arrangements for the restoration of old proprietorial rights could not be materialised without the agreement of the two brothers and without providing for their own profit. This is demonstrated by their agreement with Anna Tornikina, signed in 1358. The latter, a resident of the capital, had lost as a result of the Serbian occupation the village of Beltzistha which was in the past a possession of her father. She agreed with the two brothers that if they succeeded in taking the village from the Serbs, half of the village would be restored to her but the other half would become theirs⁴⁷. Finally, when Byzantine rule was restored in the whole of the region, in 1371, an imperial decree provided for the restoration of lost properties, but many had meanwhile become monastic and it was impossible to give them back to their old holders⁴⁸. The effects of whatever redistribution of property followed the outbreak of the second civil war and the Serbian

occupation, particularly at the expense of absent proprietors, seem to have been long-lasting and generally irreversible.

iii. Monastic land-holding

First of all it is necessary to explain why this section has to be specifically concerned with monastic land-holding, while our earlier distinction was broadly speaking between individual and “institutional” land-holding, the latter referred to religious bodies in general not just monasteries. The reason is that all surviving information from the 14th century has to do with monastic possessions and there is practically nothing relevant to the property and revenue of secular church organisations, metropolitan dioceses or bishoprics. There is only a single reference to lands held by the bishopric of Kaisaropolis and located between that village and Sdrabikion, but nothing specific about them⁴⁹. It is, therefore, preferred to concentrate on the monastic possessions in the first place, since the fortunate survival to the present-day of several monasteries which had properties in that region, especially of their archives, makes possible an adequate study of the matter. In fact all information related with monastic property in South-eastern Macedonia during the 14th century comes from the archives of the monasteries of Mt. Athos and the local monastery of St. John Prodromos in Mt. Menoikion, close to the town of Serres. Another important monastery of the region has also survived to the present day, that of Eikosiphoinissa (Kosnitza) in Mt. Paggaion, but no codex with documents of an economic nature has ever been discovered from that monastery, that would have provided us with information on its possessions during the late Middle Ages. Other monasteries that had existed in South-eastern Macedonia during the 14th century, such as the convents of Latomou and Nea Monê in Serres, are only indirectly known by references contained in Athonite charters or in those of St. John⁵⁰. There was, finally, a big number of

smaller convents, the dependent houses (*metochia*) of the major monasteries, that were present everywhere in the region of the present study.

Since the whole of our data comes from the documents of the Athonite monasteries and those of St. John Prodromos, whose recent publications are accompanied by comprehensive commentaries on their domain, it is not necessary or appropriate to repeat them and provide lists of each monastery's possessions in South-eastern Macedonia. In the present study, the main task will be to analyse the development of monastic land-holding in the course of the 14th century and underline its basic characteristics.

An observation in this region during the second half of the 14th century, especially in the years around 1371 when Serbian rule collapsed and the Ottoman conquest was not far away, reveals a profoundly extensive establishment of monastic possession. Those years were the apogee of the expansion of monastic holdings with the monasteries of Mt. Athos in a dominant position. By then, no fewer than 13 monasteries of Mt. Athos were in possession of estates in the region of South-eastern Macedonia; to them we can add the local monastery of St. John Prodromos which had also established an extensive domain. This disproportionate presence of monks in the local *metochia* and estates explains why the Ottomans gave to part of this region the name of *vilayet-i Keşişlik* ("the land of the monks").

Nevertheless, this profound expansion of monastic property in South-eastern Macedonia was not an deep-rooted situation but a quite recent development that took place in the Palaiologan period, more precisely in the 14th century. It was in the course of that century, the last of Byzantium in this particular region, that most of the monastic holdings emerged.

Among the several monasteries which appear to have been in possession of considerable properties during the 14th century, there were only two with a longer history of proprietorship in this particular region, the monastery of Ibêrôn, which had established its

domain on the villages of Melintzianê, Obêlos and Dobrobikeia since the 11th century, and also obtained the village of Radolibos in 1103, and the monastery of Batopedi holding the village of Zabarnikeia and properties inside Chrysoupolis since the 11th century as well⁵¹. The control of Ibêrôn monastery on its villages was reconfirmed by the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1259. By offers of the same emperor some other Athonite monasteries obtained their earliest possessions in this region, more precisely the monastery of Grand Laura took under control the village of Doxompous, the monastery of Esphigmenou obtained one third of the village of Krousobo and the monastery of Chilandar was given for the first time the village of Kastrion in 1271 (this acquisition of Chilandar was materialized after a request by Dêmêtrios the *zupan*, a high-ranked dignitary of the Serbian court)⁵². These imperial offers reflect a favourable attitude of Michael VIII towards the monasteries of Mt. Athos, effective since the early years of his reign, which can be interpreted as an effort by his part to gain the support of those especially influential religious bodies in order to counter-balance the strong opposition he met by the dethroned patriarch Arsenios who never recognised his accession to the throne. Later on, the Athonite monasteries are known to have backed the same emperor with his unitary policies, presumably in anticipation of his steadfast generosity.

The possessions of Athonite monasteries in South-eastern Macedonia began increasing in number during the reign of Andronikos II. Late in the 13th century Grand Laura had acquired the abandoned convent of the Amalfitans with all of its possessions, including an estate at Aeidarokastro in Mt. Paggaion. Then followed the monastery of Zographou which appears in 1289 to have established the *metochi* of Kraniotissa at Dreanobon and obtained lands in Pêlorêgion⁵³. At the turn of the century, Andronikos II is known to have implemented a short-lived policy of reclaiming lands and revenues for the state in order to improve its military capabilities. Probably as a result of this policy, the monastery of Chilandar had

temporarily lost the village of Kastrion, a village that was acquired in 1271. The monastery's holding was reconfirmed by imperial decree in 1277, but there is no mention of that village in a later enumeration of Chilandar's possessions dating from 1299⁵⁴. Nevertheless, the possession of Chilandar was restored after a personal intervention by the Serbian *kral* who required the village for himself and then transferred it to the monastery in 1300⁵⁵.

From that year onwards the expansion of monastic possessions accelerated. The most impressive acquisitions were made by monasteries that were fortunate to have an influential patron. Such were the cases of the Serbian monastery of Chilandar and the Bulgarian one of Zographou which were patronized directly by the rulers of Serbia and Bulgaria respectively. The Serbian *kral* Stephen Uroš II Milutin made use of his warm at the time relations with his father-in-law the Byzantine Emperor and of military support he had offered to the Byzantines for the defence of Asia Minor and achieved generous imperial donations for the monastery of Chilandar. After a request by the *kral* this monastery obtained the village of Koutzê in 1313, then the villages of Malouka, Eunouchou, Leipsochôrion and Geôrgêla plus several peasants in the village of Sdrabikion, all in 1318 and 1319⁵⁶. In a similar way, the Bulgarian *čar* intervened on several occasions in favour of the monastery of Zographou. In 1325 Michael Asen II proceeded in a personal purchase of the village of Prebista from Theodora Palaiologina, the previous owner, in order to transfer it to the monastery. Then, in 1327, he requested successfully that the monastery be tax-exempt, with the exception of a token levy of 50 *hyperpyra* for all of its possessions, and, moreover, receive the village of Sôtêrichou. Again, in 1342, the *čar* Ivan Alexander achieved to acquire for Zographou properties and peasants in the village of Chandax. The last to intervene in favour of that monastery was Strančimir, a high-ranked dignitary of the Bulgarian court, who received for himself the village of Marmarion before transferring it to the monastery in 1344⁵⁷.

During the first three decades of the 14th century more Athonite monasteries appeared on the scene by acquiring properties in South-eastern Macedonia, such as the ones of Koutlounousiou, Alypiou, Philotheou, Xenophôn and Karakallou, but their domain never reached the size of those mentioned earlier. At the same time, the local monastery of St. John Prodromos, a quite recent foundation of the second half of the 13th century, began acquiring numerous pieces of property by purchase or donation and organised a considerable domain centred at several *metochia* it established in Serres, Zichna, Zelichoba and Trilission. A modestly endowed foundation in its origins, the monastery of Prodromos was fortunate to be patronized by the bishop, then metropolitan, of Zichna Iôakeim, a very influential personality, who succeeded in attracting the attention of high-ranked notables to that monastery, including John Kantakouzênos who undertook its higher patronage in the 1330's. Iôakeim's political decisions too turned in favour of the monastery of Prodromos, for his active support to the cause of the young Andronikos resulted in a good share of the confiscated properties of Theodore Metochitês be given to the monastery. John Kantakouzênos had undertaken the patronage of St. John Prodromos, yet he and his family were also supportive to other monasteries, mainly to Batopedi. The contracts of purchase for the numerous pieces of property which Theodora Kantakouzênê bought in 1337/38 from many individuals are found in the archives of Batopedi which means that she had in mind to transfer those properties to the monastery and she actually did so⁵⁸. She had also supported other monasteries, such as the one of Koutlounousiou. The pieces of property which she endowed to that monastery had a long history. The first to acquire them by purchase was Kosmas Pagkalos who, in 1313, made them donation to the monastery of Pantokratôr in Constantinople. It was from that monastery that Theodora Kantakouzênê bought them before donating them to the monastery of

Koutlounousiou⁵⁹. Nevertheless, she was not equally favourable with every monastery as she is known to have appropriated an estate of Philotheou at Tzainou⁶⁰.

The monks themselves were especially interested in expanding the possessions of their monastery and, in this respect, whenever they made an acquisition they tried to increase their local domain by obtaining neighbouring properties. That was particularly true when a monastery acquired control of the peasants of an entire village. In such a case the monks made every effort to expand their domain by acquiring any independent large properties that existed in the vicinity of the village. Characteristic examples are given by the case of Sdrabikion where the monastery of Chilandar had established its control in 1318. Soon afterwards, the monastery had bought the whole of the large estates of the family of Modênos that lay nearby⁶¹. This practice was repeated by the monks of Grand Laura in 1365 when they obtained the village of Bernarous. In the same year, they acquired by purchase the local estate of the Disypatoi brothers⁶². In a rather similar way, an acquisition of some assets in a village could induce the monks to try to obtain the whole settlement. This was done successfully by the monks of Zographou with the village of Prebista. Their association with that village began in 1319 when they obtained by imperial offer the local church of St. Christopher, which they made a *metochi* of their monastery, and the right to maintain a locally held fair and take the profit from it. Six years later, the Bulgarian *čar* acting on their behalf bought the whole village from its previous owner and transferred it to the monastery⁶³.

The years of Serbian rule (1345-71, but only 1345-57 for the coastal areas) were the golden age of monastic proprietorship in South-eastern Macedonia, by all means. The Serbian *kral* then emperor Stephen Dušan was more interested in getting support from influential institutions, like the important monastic centres, than revenues from the conquered Byzantine lands. As a result, monastic property expanded at an unprecedented level. All monasteries that

already held properties in this region retained them and acquired more. An Athonite monastery which previously had no association with this region, the Russian one of St. Panteleêmôn, established an impressive domain consisting of four villages thanks to the benevolence of the Serbian Emperor⁶⁴. At the same time, the monasteries also succeeded in obtaining charters by the Byzantine emperor confirming their recent acquisitions in order to safeguard them from the possibility of a Byzantine restoration⁶⁵.

Imperial expression of favour towards a monastery was not limited to the offering of properties, but could also appear in the form of fiscal immunity. This kind of tax exemption was employed by Andronikos II already in favour of the Grand Laura. Since that monastery obtained the village of Doxompous in 1259, it was taxed by the state the lump sum of 260 *hyperpyra* out of the whole revenue it earned from that village (in the form of both levies imposed on the peasants and profit from the exploitation of the real estate it owned in the vicinity of the village, a total amount of 660 *hyperpyra* in 1317). Since Andronikos II's accession, that charge was so reduced that by 1298 was abolished completely⁶⁶. From that time the domain of Laura in Doxompous was completely immune from any financial obligations to the state. A virtually complete exemption was effective for all possessions of the monastery of Zographou after 1327 with the exception of a token charge of 50 *hyperpyra*⁶⁷. One of the first actions of Dušan since he took over the region was to grant a complete fiscal immunity to all Athonite monasteries, as is demonstrated in a charter of his dated November 1345⁶⁸. In a more specific case, he abolished the charge that Ibêrôn monastery always paid for its domain in Mt. Paggaion, i.e. half of the revenue it collected from the villages of Radolibos, Obêlos, Dobrobikeia and Boriskos⁶⁹.

The years of the last Byzantine administration in this region (1371-83) are very poorly documented and very few references survive to illuminate the development of monastic land-

holding in those years. It is generally believed that Manuel Palaiologos reclaimed lands and revenues for the state in order to allocate military grants, but there is no precise information to confirm this and reveal the possible effect it might have had in monastic land-holding. At the same time, the coastal parts of the region were incorporated in the semi-independent principality of the Byzantine brothers John and Alexis since 1357 already. Local developments were dominated by the emergence of the Athonite monastery of Pantokrator, a foundation of theirs. They endowed it richly indeed, and in doing so they even appropriated other monastic properties. This is demonstrated by the case of the village of Marmarion which they took from the monastery of Zographou and offered to their own monastery of Pantokrator⁷⁰.

As a matter of fact, the Ottomans at the beginning of their rule found a lot of monastic possessions in this region. The different social relations that began taking shape after the conquest, had as an inevitable result a considerable reduction of monastic possession to the point of absolute diminution. Nevertheless, this was a gradual development and was not completed before the beginnings of the following century. During the first years after the Ottoman conquest some previously existing monastic domains continue to be encountered, as one of the following chapters is going to demonstrate⁷¹.

Notes

¹ Act. Lavr., II, n. 104.2-3, p. 164, n. 105.2-3, p.172.

² H. Glylatzi-Ahrweiler, "La concession des droits incorporels, donations conditionnelles", *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Beograd 1964, 103-14. G. Ostrogorski, "Die Pronoia unter der Komnenen", *ZRVI*, 12 (1970), 41-54.

³ Charanis, *Monastic Properties: DOP*, 4 (1948), 88-89.

⁴ Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 6.

- ⁵ Act. Lavr., II, n. 106.16-18.20-21, p. 176.
- ⁶ Arc. St. Jean, n. 1.4-5, p. 40, n. 12.5-6, p. 62.
- ⁷ Act. Chil., n. 150.20-21, p. 315.
- ⁸ Act. Chil., n. 45, pp. 115-16, n. 126, pp. 263-64.
- ⁹ Act. Chil., n. 74, pp. 165-66, n. 94, pp. 200-202.
- ¹⁰ Lemerle, *Praktikon*, 283.
- ¹¹ Act. Kutl., n. 8.11-12, p.52.
- ¹² Mavrommatis, *Grand Propriété: Byzantion*, 57 (1987), 78.
- ¹³ For Metochitês: Arc. St. Jean, n. 25.51-53, p. 89. For John Kantakouzênos: Kantakouzênos, II, 192. Lemerle, *Praktikon*, 285. For Theodora Kantakouzênê: Act. Kutl., n. 18, p. 86. Kravari, *Philotheou: TM* 10 (1987), n. 4, pp. 304-307.
- ¹⁴ For Michael Palaiologos: Act. Chil., n. 60, p. 142. For Theodora Palaiologina: Act. Zogr., n. 22, pp. 48-50. *PLP*, IX, p. 72, n. 21381. For Theodora Palaiologina Philanthrôpinê: Kravari, *Philotheou: TM* 10 (1987), n. 6, pp. 321-23.
- ¹⁵ For Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina: Arc. St. Jean, n. 46, p. 144. For John Choumnos: Act. Phil., n. 8, pp. 22-23. *PLP*, XII, p. 230, n. 30953.
- ¹⁶ For Theodore Synadênos: Act. Phil., n. 9, p. 26. Act. Kutl., n. 14, pp. 69-70, Act. Xen., n. 25, p. 196. For: Michael Monomachos: Act. Zogr., n. 29, pp. 68-71. For Arsenios TzAMPLAKÔN: Goudas, *Batopedi: EEBS* 4 (1927), n. 14, pp. 236-37. Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, n. 18, p. 144. Theocharidês, *TzAMPLAKONES: Makedonika* 5 (1961-63), n. 1, pp. 131-32. Lemerle, *Praktikon*, 282-85.
- ¹⁷ Act. Pantok., pp. 7-11. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 206-13. Ostrogorski, *Serska Oblast*, 147.
- ¹⁸ Act. Kutl., n. 7, p. 49, n. 8, pp. 51-52. *PLP*, IX, p. 54, n. 21264.
- ¹⁹ Kantakouzênos, II, 192.
- ²⁰ Kantakouzênos, II, 236, 254.
- ²¹ For Charitôn: Act. Kutl., n. 8, p. 51. For George Troulênos: Arc. St. Jean, n. 5, pp. 47-48, n. 8, pp. 52-53. Act. Phil., n. 6, p. 19. For George Phôkopoulos: Goudas, *Batopedi: EEBS* 4 (1927), n. 14, pp. 235-36. Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, n. 10, p. 74, n. 18, p. 142, n. 24, p. 180. For the Disypatoi: Act. Lavr. III, n. 143, pp. 91-92. For Constantine Acheiraitês: Arc. St. Jean, n. 28.11-12, p. 98. For John Masgidas: Act. St. Pant., n. 11, p. 99, serbian n. 1, pp. 157-58. Kravari, *Philotheou: TM* 10 (1987), n. 4, pp. 307-308. For Margaritês: Goudas, *Batopedi: EEBS* 4 (1927), n. 14, p. 236. Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, n. 18, p. 142. Lemerle, *Praktikon*, 281-85.
- ²² Act. Chil., n. 39, p. 93, n. 52, pp. 127-28, n. 53, pp. 128-30, n. 59, pp. 139-40, n. 62, p. 146, n. 69, pp. 155-57, n. 118, pp. 246-49.
- ²³ Lemerle, *Praktikon*, 281-85.
- ²⁴ Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 143-44. There is evidence on a particular peasant, formerly *paroikos* of Zographou monastery, who during the period of his involvement with the military was relieved of his commitments to the monastery and was also assigned another peasant in his own service. When his involvement with the military was terminated both peasants came once more under the control of the monastery (Act. Zogr., n. 16.20-26.35-47, pp. 37-38). Bartusis argues that the peasant of the present case was not a real soldier and was never enlisted. He interprets the case in a fiscal sense by suggesting that the peasant was simply required to pay his taxes to the state, for military purposes, instead to the monastery (M. Bartusis, "On the Problem of Small-holding Soldiers in Late Byzantium", *DOP*, 44 (1990), 4-6). Nevertheless, this suggestion cannot be accepted because it does not explain what need was faced by assigning a second peasant to the "soldier".
- ²⁵ Arc. St. Jean, n. 7, p. 51, n. 16, pp. 69-70, n. 17, pp. 71-72.
- ²⁶ The grant of Martinos amounted to 30 *hyperpyra* and an equal amount was allocated to John Panaretos, an officer holding the rank of *hetaireiarchês*. Cf. Arc. St. Jean, n. 6, p. 49. A higher amount of 40 *hyperpyra* was collected from the village of Choudina by Kassandrênos and then by Lependrênos. Cf. Act. Chil., n. 45, pp. 115-16, n. 46, pp. 116-17, n. 47, pp. 117-18.
- ²⁷ For Gerbasios: Act. Chil., n. 45, pp. 115-16, n. 46, pp. 116-17, n. 123, pp. 256-58, n. 124, pp. 259-60, n. 126, pp. 263-64. For Kallinikos: Act. Chil., n. 74, pp. 165-66, n. 94, pp. 200-202.
- ²⁸ Act. Chil., n. 16, pp. 37-38, n. 17, pp. 38-39.
- ²⁹ The village generated an annual revenue of 300 *hyperpyra* and he purchased it from its former owner, the *Grand Doukaina* Theodora Palaiologina for 3000 *hyperpyra*. Act. Zogr., n. 22, pp. 48-50.
- ³⁰ M.C. Bartusis, "Chrelja and Momčilo : Occasional Servants of Byzantium in Fourteenth Century Macedonia", *Byzantinoslavica*, 41 (1980), 201-206, 213.

- ³¹ Grêgoras, II, 626.
- ³² Kantakouzênos, I, 280. Bartusis, *loc. cit.*, 202.
- ³³ Act. Chil., n. 157, pp. 333-34. *PLP*, XI, p. 79, n. 26653.
- ³⁴ Act. Chil., n. 23, p. 50.
- ³⁵ Act. St. Jean, n. 2, pp. 41-42, n. 6, p. 49. For Alexios Diplobatzês: *PLP*, III, p. 30, n. 5510.
- ³⁶ Act. Chil., n. 96, pp. 203-204.
- ³⁷ Act. Kutl., n. 7, p. 49, n. 8, pp. 51-52.
- ³⁸ Mavrommatis, *Grand Propriété: Byzantion 57* (1987), 74-92.
- ³⁹ Arc. St. Jean, n. 25.51-53, p. 89.
- ⁴⁰ Kantakouzênos, II, 192. Grêgoras, 623. Lemerle, *Praktikon*, 281-85.
- ⁴¹ Grêgoras, 633-34.
- ⁴² Act. Phil., n. 8, p. 23.
- ⁴³ Kantakouzênos, II, 292-94, 324, 328-31, 347. Grêgoras, 647, 654, 797.
- ⁴⁴ Kantakouzênos, II, 420, 423-25, 468-74, 535-36, 546-51. Lemerle, *Philippes*, 199.
- ⁴⁵ Ostrogorski, *Serska Oblast, passim*. See below, chapter 7.
- ⁴⁶ Theocharidês, *Tzemplakones: Makedonika 5* (1961-63), n. 4a.10-16, p. 143.
- ⁴⁷ Act. St. Pant., n. 12, pp. 104-105.
- ⁴⁸ Act. St. Pant., n. 15, p. 117.
- ⁴⁹ Act. Chil., n. 39.10-11, p. 92.
- ⁵⁰ For Latomou: Act. Kutl., n. 4.6-7, p. 43. For Nea Monê: Act. Chil., n. 140, pp. 295-97.
- ⁵¹ Act. Iv., I, pp. 86-89, II, pp. 56-57. Goudas, *Batopedi: EEBS 4* (1927), n.2.15-20, p. 121.
- ⁵² Act. Iv., III, n. 58, p. 90. Act. Chil., n. 7, pp. 17-18, n. 8, pp. 18-19. Act. Lavr., II, n. 71.28-36, p. 9. Act. Esph., n. 6.31-34, p. 62.
- ⁵³ Act. Lavr., II, n. 79.12, p. 48. Act. Zogr., n. 11.43-48, p. 30, n. 13, p. 33.
- ⁵⁴ Act. Chil., n. 13, p. 34.
- ⁵⁵ Act. Chil., n. 16, pp.37-38.
- ⁵⁶ Act. Chil., n. 26, pp. 55-59, n. 37, pp. 84-87, n. 38, pp. 87-91, n. 39, pp. 92-95, n. 41, pp. 105-109. Cf. N. Oikonomides, "The Turks in Europe and the Serbs in Asia Minor", in E. Zachariadou (ed.), *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389)*, Rethymnon 1993, 166.
- ⁵⁷ Act. Zogr., n. 22, pp. 48-59, n. 26.42-46.75-77, pp. 59-60, n. 31, pp. 72-73, n. 36, pp. 87-88.
- ⁵⁸ Mavrommatis, *Grande Propriété: Byzantion 57* (1987), 74-92.
- ⁵⁹ Act. Kutl., n. 7, p. 49, n. 8, pp. 51-52, n. 18, p. 86.
- ⁶⁰ Kravari, *Philotheou: TM 10* (1987), n. 4, pp., 304, 307.
- ⁶¹ Act. Chil., n. 52, pp. 127-28, n. 53, pp. 128-31, n. 59, pp. 139-41, n. 69, pp. 155-58, n. 118, pp. 246-49.
- ⁶² Act. Lavr., III, n. 142, pp. 89-90, n. 143, pp. 91-92.
- ⁶³ Act. Zogr., n. 16, pp. 37-38, n. 22, pp. 91-92.
- ⁶⁴ Act. St. Pant., n. 11, pp. 99-100, serbian n. 2, p.160.
- ⁶⁵ Act. St. Pant., n. 11, pp. 99-100.
- ⁶⁶ Act. Lavr., II, n. 89.80-90, p. 74.
- ⁶⁷ Act. Zogr., n. 26.42-46, p. 59.
- ⁶⁸ Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, n. 5.48-53.56-61.66-71, pp. 32, 34.
- ⁶⁹ Act. Iv., IV, n. 89.30-31, p. 115.
- ⁷⁰ Act. Pantokr., n. 16.9-10, p. 127.
- ⁷¹ See below, chapter 3.

Chapter 2.

Small-holding and the economic elements of the dependent peasant household (14th century)

The late Byzantine and early Ottoman societies were predominantly agrarian ones with the structure of the state being based on a mostly rural economy and the peasantry being the main productive force. In this respect, it is necessary to make clear our definition of peasants, dependent or not, as those who had to make their living out of a direct personal involvement in the cultivation of land and other rural occupations. The term cannot designate the wealthy lords and landowners. The latter, although they derived their income from owning and exploiting rural properties, were not directly involved in working on them.

As a case study, the area of South-eastern Macedonia fits well into this model. There, the peasants, who constituted the majority of the population, had to rely on agriculture, animal-breeding, fishing, or a combination of all these activities, in order to gain their subsistence, as well as meet their financial and other obligations to the state. The same conditions applied under Byzantine or Serbian rule over the region, as did the obligations of dependent peasants towards their landlords.

The enserfment of the Byzantine peasantry had begun during the 10th century already¹, a process that accelerated in the 11th century with the abolition of earlier legislation protecting peasant independence and the integrity of peasant holdings against pressure by wealthy landowners. The condition of peasant dependence became the norm during the Comnenian period, and this position persisted during the later years of Byzantium. The overwhelming majority of the peasants living in the remaining Byzantine lands, during the 13th and 14th centuries, were dependent ones, the so-called *paroikoi*

according to Byzantine terminology². The majority of the rural population in South-eastern Macedonia conformed to this general pattern.

A study of proprietorship, covering the late Byzantine era, cannot be completed without taking the *paroikoi* into account, for they did own some pieces of property too. The most revealing sources of information on this subject are the *praktika* which contain full lists of the peasants, who were assigned to particular secular or monastic landlords at given times, and enumerate the pieces of property held by every peasant family in the estate. Yet, some different views have been expressed with regard to those pieces of property which appear to have been in possession of the *paroikoi*, according to the references in the *praktika*. Nesbitt tends to view them as property owned by the landlord and only allotted to the peasants. He treats the estate as divided into allotted lands, which appear in the *praktika* as being under a direct peasant possession, and non-allotted lands which were also worked by the peasants but not listed under their possession in those texts³. Other scholars, such as Ostrogorski, in the past, and Laiou-Thomadakis, more recently, regard these possessions as personal property of the peasants⁴. The latter view is undoubtedly a sounder one and is followed in the present study. The assets, which dependent peasants are shown to hold in the *praktika*, were often acquired by inheritance from their parents, purchase, or dowry. They could also sell them, transfer them to their children, give them as dowry, and, generally deal with them according to their own wish. Therefore, the lands and properties within the late Byzantine rural estate have to be distinguished in two categories: those owned by the landlord, which Laiou-Thomadakis prefers to label as domain-lands, and those owned by the peasants.

The peasants' status of dependency rested on several grounds. It was first denoted by the basic tax they were liable to, the *telos*, which was always paid in cash and represented the combined amount of dues which the peasants originally owed to the

state, but had to submit to the landlord instead, to whom they were assigned⁵. The amount of this basic tax was normally in accordance with the size of property owned by the peasant and the latter's economic standing. However, it was also demanded from peasants who appeared to have held no property at all, and here lies its symbolic character. The *telos* was more than an income tax, it was rather a determinant of a peasant's subjection to a landlord. Apart from this basic tax, the *paroikoi* were also liable to some additional payments, in cash and kind, towards both the landlord and the state. They also had to perform labour services for their landlord.

The dependent peasants' freedom of movement was limited. Only the emperor himself could relieve them of the status of dependency and they were never allowed to stop fulfilling their obligations towards their landlord. Even in case they moved from the estate and settled elsewhere (such could be the case of a *paroikos* who would marry a girl from a different village and move to her family's home), they were still required to carry out all their duties for the landlord. This is demonstrated in the case of some peasants registered among the *paroikoi* of Ibêrôn monastery in the village of Radolibos. When the *praktikon* was drawn up, in 1316, some of them were actually living in other villages, but they still had to fulfil all of their obligations towards the monastery of Ibêrôn and pay to the monastery the appropriate amount of tax for properties they held in Radolibos. None among them had any obligations towards the landlords of the settlements they were actually living in.

It was up to the landlord to retain control of his peasants or transfer them to another or include them in a donation to a monastery. Furthermore, no one was permitted to appropriate peasants assigned to someone else. Finally, abandoned properties of dependent peasants, or properties of those who died without leaving a heir, were declared an *exaleima* and passed under the landlord's ownership. Some dependent

peasants were also controlled directly by the fisc, the so-called *dêmosiakoi paroikoi*, who had to fulfil all of the aforementioned requirements for the state. A direct control by the fisc was imposed on them during brief intervals between their being re-allocated from one landlord to another, mainly to soldiers or other functionaries through the scheme of *oikonomia*.

There is no doubt that this status of dependency characterized the vast majority of peasants in South-eastern Macedonia during the 14th century. Yet, the question of whether an independent peasantry had existed there at the same time deserves some attention. The surviving documentation is very inadequate on this matter. Whereas mentions of *paroikoi* are frequent in the sources, any references to a definitely independent peasantry are very scarce and inconclusive. This point has given ground for debate among the scholars. Dölger believed that an independent peasantry had kept on existing in the Byzantine territories until the final days of the Byzantine state. His opinion was based on epithets, such as *epoikos* and *gonikarios*, which labelled some particular peasants in the sources, and were interpreted by Dölger as denoting an independent peasantry, in contrast to the epithet of *paroikos* which marked the dependent ones⁶. Charanis was more cautious on the matter. First, he showed that Dölger had misinterpreted those terms, which were actually indicative of some categories of dependent peasants, not of independent ones. Then, he suggested that an independent peasantry could have survived during the last Byzantine centuries but in minor proportions, according to some indications from data of the early 13th century⁷. On the opposite side, Ostrogorski rejected the ideas of both, Dölger and Charanis, by asserting that independent peasants had completely ceased to exist in late Byzantium. According to his view, all those peasants, who seemed in the text of the sources to be independent, were in reality *paroikoi* of the fisc⁸. Finally, Laiou-Thomadakis considered the

phenomenon of an independent peasantry to be confined to the case of peasants who were relieved of the status of dependency when they joined the army and only for the period of their service⁹.

Only two cases of peasants who were free of the obligations pertaining to *paroikoi* can be found in the entire documentation of the 14th century for South-eastern Macedonia. However, these do not concern peasants who were originally independent, but peasants who were relieved of the status of dependency. The first case is about a certain hieromonk, called Modênos, who lived in the village of Sdrabikion during the late years of the 13th and the early years of the 14th centuries. He could have been a relative of the Modênnoi brothers who were present in the same village during the early 14th century; indeed, their father was a priest who had received his properties as an offer by Michael VIII (thus prior to 1282) but he cannot be the same person as the hieromonk of the present case for two reasons. First, the father of the Modênnoi brothers had three sons, who inherited his property, while the hieromonk Modênos appears to have had only two daughters who were both married and their husbands appear to be his heirs. Second, the Modênnoi brothers were rich landowners, while the hieromonk, who was with strong probability a namesake or distant relative of them, was rather a dependent small-holder. Nevertheless, for unknown reasons, he was relieved by imperial decree of the dependent status and was also granted fiscal immunity. The *chrysobull* that was drawn up for him in c. 1300 was signed by the Emperors Andronikos II and Michael IX and contained the details of his privilege. Henceforth, his holdings were exempt from any payment towards the state or landlords and also free from any other service or burden of those pertaining to *paroikoi*. The same exemption and privileges were granted also to his two sons-in-law, the priest Michael Borkênos and John Porianitês.¹⁰

In the second case, a dependent peasant was recruited by the army and was relieved of the obligations he had as such for the period of his service. Michael, the son of a certain Daniel, was originally a *paroikos* of Zografou monastery in the village of Prebista. For some period of time he had joined the army and, as a result, was immuned from fulfilling any of the obligations he had previously towards the monastery. By 1319, his period of service had terminated, so, in March of the same year, he was assigned back to the monastery as a *paroikos*. The monastery took also control of a second peasant who served the aforementioned soldier during the period of the latter's enlistment¹¹. A similar case can be observed in 14th-century Thessaly. There, a group of ten peasants, who were originally *paroikoi* of St. George monastery in Zablantia, were recruited by command of the Byzantine governor, John Aggelos, and the monastery lost control over them. In November 1348, soon after the land came under Serbian rule, those men were given back to the monastery and resumed whatever obligations they had towards it¹².

These cases involved small-holding peasants who served in the army in exchange for fiscal immunities and exemption from services to the landlords. The practice of enrolling peasants in military or para-military service, in exchange for exemptions, was followed by the Ottomans and can be aptly demonstrated in the recruitment of *eşkinçi* and *voynuk* servicemen. Those, like the Byzantine soldiers discussed previously, were men of a peasant background who served under the provision of tax exemption. As a result of their military engagement such men were not expected to continue maintaining their farms by themselves, therefore, to each one of those men was assigned an assistant (*yamak*) in order to deal with the farm as long as they were occupied with military duties. The same pattern is apparent in the case of the Byzantine peasant-soldier from Prebista. Not only was he personally relieved of the status of *paroikos* for the period of

his enlistment, in addition he was in control of a *paroikos* of his own during the time he was unable to be directly involved in maintaining his holding.

In short, this is the only evidence at our disposal with which to analyse the supposed existence of an independent peasantry in late Byzantium, in general, and in South-eastern Macedonia, in particular. The hieromonk Modênos, with his two sons-in-law, in Sdrabikion, and the enlisted peasant Michael, in Prebista, are the only known cases of independent small-holding peasants in South-eastern Macedonia during the 14th century. Nevertheless, neither of these cases can be used as a proof for the existence of a really independent peasantry. These two examples are exceptional cases in that for both of them any independence was not present from the beginning, it was instead a result of special circumstances. The reason why the hieromonk Modênos was relieved, by imperial decree, of the status of dependency is not known. For Michael in Prebista the reason was his enlistment in the army, yet, his exemption was limited to the period of service only, then he reverted to the condition of dependent peasant. Consequently, this evidence is completely inadequate to support any theory about the existence of an independent peasantry in 14th-century Southeastern Macedonia. The existence or not of such a peasantry remains fully speculative. However, it would not be inappropriate to assume that a minority of peasants might, for one reason or another, temporarily or not, be relieved of their original status of dependency, as is demonstrated in the cases at our disposal.

The sources of information for Southeastern Macedonia in the 14th century contain many references to peasants and their holdings. A lot of them were definitely dependent peasants, for others it is simply not known whether they were dependent or not. Hereafter, all small-holding peasants of uncertain status have to be treated as *paroikoi* rather than independent ones. Virtually the whole of information about peasant

holding is found in the *praktika* or in contracts concerning purchase of rural property. Certainly, these sources can only give a fragmented picture of the situation in the region in question. *Praktika* have survived for only a handful of settlements and, in some cases, they do not even cover the settlements in their entirety. The surviving purchase contracts are also few. Then, almost the whole of these sources dates from the first half of the 14th century. The well-documented period stops in the 1340's, therefore, a period lasting almost half a century that elapsed between that date and the Ottoman conquest of the land remains obscure so far as the issue of peasant possession is concerned. As a result, any assessment of developments during that period has to be based mainly on conjecture. Yet, with all the limitations of the surviving material, Southeastern Macedonia remains the best documented among all Byzantine territories in the 14th century. The numbers of peasants who are registered in the surviving *praktika*, even though they constituted only a small fraction of the total peasant population of the region, are high enough to be used as a reliable sample for determining, in general terms, the average peasant holding in Southeastern Macedonia, especially during the first half of the 14th century. The existing data can also help to indicate the degree of homogeneity or diversity, when comparing the economy of particular settlements, and what influence they exercised on the typical patterns of peasant holding.

To begin with, peasant families were usually in possession of land (*gê* - when the term is used in the *praktika* it normally means arable, the same as *chôraphion*), vineyards, orchard-gardens, vegetable-gardens, animals of tillage, other animals, beehives, and, in cases that fishing played some role in local economy, boats, fish-ponds, drag-nets. By all means, the size of peasant property was much smaller compared with the property of landlords and landowners. There were, even, significant variations in the amount of property held by different peasants, when comparing one to another. None

among the peasants, however, could make anymore than a modest living. They had to rely on the product of whatever possessions they disposed to meet their own and their family's needs for food, seed for the following year's sowing, and fodder for their animals if they owned any. Furthermore, they needed to channel into the market a considerable part of their product in order to realize the necessary cash to pay their dues to the state and the landlords. Cash was mainly needed for paying the taxes, but it was also necessary in case the peasants had to buy commodities, such as clothing and tools. In ideal circumstances, a peasant family could make some capital by saving and invest in buying oxen or other property. Very few examples of peasants who owned land by purchase can be found in the sources. One example is encountered in the *praktikon* of 1316 for Radolibos, where a very small proportion of the peasants, 4 out of 242 families, owned parcels of land which they had been able to acquire by purchase. But, although some peasants were occasionally able to make enough money to buy some property, the majority of the rural population were living under difficult conditions and those peasants with only modest assets at their disposal could hardly afford to meet the needs for their subsistence and their fiscal obligations. The already difficult conditions of the peasantry would easily deteriorate in case of climatic hazard, bad harvest, disease or enemy raid, and such disasters had more than once befallen the population of Southeastern Macedonia in the 14th century. Often, peasants had to sell their holdings; our sources contain many references to purchase of peasant property, more specifically pieces of land or vineyard, by rich landowners, individual and monastic.

The cultivation of arable lands was the predominant occupation of the rural population in late medieval South-eastern Macedonia. Most of the peasants in the entire region were involved in growing cereals and, to a lesser degree, flax or cotton. As a result of the primacy of cereal-cropping in the economy of the region, arable lands were

regarded as the most valuable and landlords tended to keep them under their direct control. Still, peasants could have their own plots of arable. Those who did not have any, or those who had not enough, would normally work on their landlord's lands. The landlords' practice to employ their *paroikoi* in the cultivation of their own lands was a private affair and, usually, it was done on a sharecropping basis. The share of the harvest, which the peasants had to hand over to their landlord for working on his own lands, was not recorded in the *praktika* and was independent from the *telos* and other payments due as a result of their attachment to him. Some peasants were able to do extra work, as hired labour, on the fields of landowners other than their own landlord. In such a case, they were liable to a special tax, the *zeugaratikeion*, payable to their landlord on what they earned from their extra occupation.

The importance of peasant occupation with work on arable lands is adequately indicated by the records of draught animals, i.e. oxen, among the rest of peasant possessions in the *praktika*. As technical terms, *zeugarion* (literally meaning "pair") and *boidion* were used either in their literal sense to mean a pair of oxen or a single ox, respectively, or in a more technical sense, as measurements of surface, meaning the area which could be tilled by a pair of oxen or a single ox (the Ottoman fisc adopted these terms in the latter sense as *çift* and *nim-çift*). Nevertheless, the use of the terms in the *praktika* denotes definitely animals, not land¹³.

The proportion of peasants who disposed draught animals cannot be safely established, because the settlements of South-eastern Macedonia which are surveyed in surviving *praktika* are very few. A rough idea of the situation around the years 1316-18 can be deduced from surveys of the villages of Radolibos (1316), Doxompous (1317), Aedarokastron (1317), Melintzianê (1318), Eunouchou (1318), Krousobo (1318) and Achinos (1318). The total number of registered households in all of those villages is 466;

for 9 among them (1.93%) there is record of more than one pair of oxen and for 52 (11.15%) there is a record of one pair; a single ox is recorded with 113 households (24.24%), while for the remaining 292 households there is no record of draught animals. The proportions at each different village had as follows:

| <u>village</u> | <u>households with:</u> | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| | <u>more than one pair</u> | <u>pair of oxen</u> | <u>single ox</u> | <u>no oxen</u> | <u>total number</u> |
| Achinos | - | - | - | 8 | 8 |
| Aedarokastron | - | 1 | 9 | 4 | 14 |
| Doxompous | - | 9 | 22 | 90 | 121 |
| Eunouchou | 4 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 21 |
| Krousobo | - | 1 | 8 | 17 | 26 |
| Melintzianê | 1 | 6 | 19 | 8 | 34 |
| Radolibos | 4 | 26 | 51 | 161 | 242 |

The fact that a considerable number of peasants owned no oxen does not mean that they did not work on arable lands. They did so without the use of animals, and for this reason they were designated in Byzantine fiscal terminology as *pezoi*¹⁴. Those peasants who indeed had no oxen could till much less land than those who had. According to some 13th-century evidence from Cyprus, the surface of land that a peasant without oxen was supposed to handle was 20 *modioi* (1.77 hectares), while for the *boidatos* (peasant with a single ox) the surface of manageable land could increase to 30 *modioi* (2.66 hectares), and for the *zeugaratos*, with a pair of oxen, to 40 *modioi* (3.55 hectares)¹⁵. Nevertheless, these figures are too low to be fully trusted. The 34 peasant families, which were controlled by Ibêrôn monastery at Melintzianê in 1318, were distinguished into 7 *zeugaratoi*, 19 *boidatoi* and 8 *pezoi*. None among them owned

any personal arable, therefore, all had to work on the monastery's field, in the vicinity of the village, which amounted to 6185.5 *modioi* (549.72 hectares) of first and second quality land¹⁶. If the standards known from Cyprus are applied in this case, then, the *paroikoi* of Ibêrôn monastery in Melintzianê would have been cultivating no more than 1040 *modioi* of their landlord's land, a relatively small fraction out of the total. Indeed, that field of 6185.5 *modioi* had not necessarily to be cultivated in its entirety by those 34 families; part of it could have been let by the monastery to others apart from its own local *paroikoi*. However, it may be presumed that the latter rent and cultivated a fraction of that field much bigger than the 1040 *modioi* suggested by the Cypriot standards. Consequently, the maximum of land that could be handled by a peasant with a pair of oxen could be much more than 40 *modioi*, and, equally, more than 30 *modioi* for the peasant with a single ox.

Schilbach cites several examples of equation between *modios* and *zeugarion*, in the sense of *zeugarion* as a surface-measurement unit, with rates ranging from 83.33 to 213.5 *modioi* per *zeugarion*¹⁷. By these figures is signified the surface of the area that could be potentially cultivated by a peasant family disposing a plough team. Of course, the surface of the land that could be handled by a peasant family, with or without oxen, could vary in accordance to local conditions and was subject to availability of land.

The 20 peasant families of Chandax, who were assigned to Michael Monomachos in ca. 1333, were all in possession of their personal plots of arable land. Seven among them were in possession of a plough-team, while their land ranged from 15 to 36 *modioi*, with an average of 26.57 *modioi* (2.36 hectares). Eight peasants were *boidatoi* and their personal land ranged from 11 to 30 *modioi*, with an average of 21 *modioi* (1.86 hectares). Finally, the remaining 5 peasants appear to have been *pezoi*, but they were all in possession of arable ranging from 24 to 26 *modioi*, with an average of 25 *modioi*

(2.22 hectares)¹⁸. As a matter of fact, those peasants of Chandax who appear to have owned no oxen were actually in possession of more land than those who owned a single ox, and even more than one *zeugaratos* peasant who owned 15 *modioi* only. This average of 25± *modioi* (2.22 hectares) held by the *pezoi* peasants of Chandax may be regarded as the higher limit of land that could be handled without the use of a plough-team. The *paroikoi* of Monomachos in Chandax, including those who owned oxen, were not supposed to cultivate much more land than what they personally owned, for their landlord's own field was no more than 400 *modioi*, which corresponded to 26.66 *modioi* per peasant on average, excluding the *pezoi*. This increases the average area that was ploughed by the *zeugaratoi* to 53.23 *modioi* and by the *boidatoi* to 47.66 *modioi*, still below their capability¹⁹. For this reason, some of the peasants of Chandax were able to do extra work elsewhere, as is proved by the fact that Monomachos was expected to receive the payment of *zeugaratikion*²⁰.

The village of Chandax is a rather uncommon case, within the limits of the surviving data, where the dependent peasants had their own plots of arable land. Other examples are some of the peasants of Radolibos, several of those in Krousobo, and others among those *paroikoi* who were assigned to John Margaritês in 1342.

In Chandax, all of the recorded peasants, irrespective of their situation as *zeugaratoi*, *boidatoi* or *pezoi*, owned their personal plots of arable, ranging in size from 11 to 36 *modioi* with an average of 23.95 *modioi* (2.12 hectares) per household. The seven peasants of the village of Nêsion, who were equally assigned to Michael Monomachos in ca.1333, had their own plots of arable as well, but in significantly different size compared to one another. Three of those families had land of 70 *modioi*, whereas the land of three other was just 3 *modioi*; another family held a plot of 36 *modioi*²¹. In this case the average size of land per household is 36.4 *modioi*, but it

certainly does not represent the real proportions of each individual's arable land in NêSION. In Krousobo, 14 out of 26 peasant families registered in 1318 had their private arable. Two among them had very small plots of 1 *modios*, for the rest the size ranged from 12 to 50 *modioi*, while their general average was 31.28 *modioi* (2.78 hectares)²². Six peasant families of Radolibos had their own arable, between 10 and 40 *modioi* (17.5 *modioi* -1.55 hectares- in average), but those made up a small proportion only out of the 242 peasant households registered there in 1316²³.

The situation was quite different with the peasants of Gornitzoba, Rachoba, Gostompous and Topolia, who were assigned to John Margarîtês in January 1342. Most of them, 21 out of 26, had their personal arable, ranging in size from 7 to 87 *modioi* with an average of 27.33 *modioi* (2.42 hectares)²⁴. The total of 87 *modioi* (7.73 hectares), which was held by a certain Dragotzas in the village of Rachoba, was the highest amount of arable land to have been held by a *paroikos* in Southeastern Macedonia, according to the surviving documentation²⁵.

The landscape was an important factor that determined whether arable lands could be under the direct possession of peasants or not. In settlements located in the plain, or with easy access to it (e.g. Doxompous and Radolibos), the arable was more likely to be arranged in large compact fields which could be claimed or owned by rich landowners only. In highland or hilly areas, like those where the *paroikoi* of Margarîtês lived, the landscape was unfavourable to the extension of arable in large compact units and only permitted a cultivation limited to pockets of suitable land. Even the modest sized pieces of arable land, which were held by some of Margarîtês's *paroikoi*, were not compact but scattered between different sites²⁶. The issue of direct peasant ownership of arable may also be related to the fiscal history of the settlements. In settlements held for a long time by individual or monastic landlords, as well as in those which were allocated

by the state to landlords in whole or in a big part, the peasants were unlikely to have direct control over arable lands. In those cases, if the landscape permitted, the fields would normally pass under the landlords' possession at the same time as they acquired the settlement. Examples of this pattern are the villages of Doxompous, Radolibos and Melintzianê. There were some other settlements where control had been broken up over time and only a few peasants were assigned to each one of several landlords. In such cases the fields could also be scattered with the peasants taking possession of some of them. This was probably the case in Chandax, NêSION, Krousobo and in the villages where the *paroikoi* of Margaritês lived.

Some more information about peasant-held arable can be collected, apart from the *praktika*, from documents of land transaction. The monastery of Chilandar had acquired by purchase several plots of arable land in the vicinity of Serres between 1323 and 1326. Twenty-two individuals sold to that monastery small pieces of land (*chôraphion*), from 1 to 8 *stremmata* (an average of 3.5 *stremmata*), in prices ranging from 2.25 to 9 "ducats" per *stremma*²⁷. The exact meaning of "ducat" in those contracts is unclear. By using this term, they probably referred to a lower denomination of the golden Venetian *ducat* proper, most likely the *doukaton hexagion* which was in general terms equated with 1/12 of the Byzantine *hyperpyron*²⁸. The largest amount of land which Chilandar acquired from a local small-holder during those years, was 70 *stremmata* of land bought from Philip Philippopolitês in Kamenikeia, in May 1323, for 70 *oncias*²⁹. The latter's property, though larger than the typical smallholder's, was still one of a modest size.

A similar situation can be observed with a group of individuals who sold their pieces of land to Theodôra Aggelina Kantakouzênê in 1337/38. As was the previous case

with the monastery of Chilandar, Theodôra Kantakouzênê bought, in that instance, small plots of land from many individuals³⁰.

The data we find in documents recording land-transactions contain many references to peasants with personal arable land. These references, however, cannot change the initial picture given by the *praktika*, i.e. peasants having any personal arable, even of a smallest size, formed a tiny minority among the entire local peasantry. In contrast to peasants registered in the *praktika*, those who are mentioned in transaction documents cannot be definitely assessed, as it cannot be determined what percentage of the population in their settlement they represent. Little is known about them except what they sold, and nothing is known in detail about either their social status or their general economic situation. There is a strong probability that they were dependent peasants, and some of them were possibly under the control of the same landlord who appears to have bought pieces of their property.

These peasants who are registered in the surviving *praktika* can be used as a more reliable sample and their case can help suggest that direct peasant possession of arable lands was not widespread. Still, this last statement is more of an impression than a substantiated fact, because the surviving *praktika* are very few and only a small proportion of Southeast Macedonian settlements is surveyed in them. There is no doubt, however, that personally held peasant arable, when it existed, was of a small size. In some rather exceptional cases, there are records of peasants who owned as much as 70 *modioi* of arable, there was even one peasant who held 87 *modioi*. The total amount of personally held peasant arable of all surveyed villages was 1852 *modioi* (164.59 hectares), held by 68 peasants; at the same time, just one of Ibêrôn monastery's properties were 6185.5 *modioi* in Melintzianê. The majority of those peasants who did own arable had plots usually smaller than 40 *modioi*, and this is amply demonstrated by

the general average of 27.23 *modioi* (2.42 hectares) which can be deduced from examining all recorded cases in the *praktika* for Southeastern Macedonia³¹.

Although arable land does not appear to have been directly held by the peasants, except in relatively few cases, the situation was much different with vineyards. The latter were the most common piece of property to have been held by the peasants of Southeastern Macedonia. For all but 59 out of 466 households vineyard holdings are recorded in the seven villages that were surveyed between 1316 and 1318. Vineyards were the only existing holding for 149 households of the same sample (128 in Radolibos, 3 in Krousobo, 5 in Melintzianê, 13 in Doxompous). The percentage of peasants who owned nothing but vines was remarkably high in Radolibos (128 out of 242 households, a 52.89 %). Usually, peasants who owned no vineyard did not own anything else, such as all of the eight *paroikoi* of Esphigmenou monastery in Achinos³² and nine peasants in Radolibos, or they just owned animals, like the *paroikoi* of Grand Laura monastery at Aeidarokastron³³. According to later-day *praktika* too, vineyards continued to be a common asset in peasant possession. The whole of the 20 peasants in Chandax and four out of seven peasants in NêSION, who were assigned to Michael Monomachos in ca. 1333, were in direct possession of vineyards³⁴. The same was true for 20 out of 26 peasants among those who were assigned to John Margaritês in 1342, in the villages of Gostompous, Topolia, Gornitzoba and Rachoba³⁵.

The size of peasant-owned vineyards varied from 0.50 to even 49 *modioi* for each individual. The one among the recorded peasants, who held the largest amount of vineyard, was a certain John Zotaphos, a *paroikos* of John Margaritês in Gornitzoba, with 49 *modioi*³⁶. Of course, peasants with such a large amount of owned vineyard were few. The peasants of 14th-century South-eastern Macedonia, for whom there is a record of vineyard possession, can be listed as follows, according to their vineyard's size:

| <u>Vineyard size</u> | <u>Number of peasants</u> |
|---|---------------------------|
| 0.50 - 2 <i>modioi</i> (0.04 - 0.17 hectares) | 122 |
| 2 – 6 <i>modioi</i> (0.17 – 0.53 hectares) | 186 |
| 6 – 12 <i>modioi</i> (0.53 – 1.06 hectares) | 105 |
| 12 – 20 <i>modioi</i> (1.06 – 1.77 hectares) | 15 |
| 20 – 49 <i>modioi</i> (1.77 – 4.35 hectares) | 5 |

At the same time, the average vineyard size per single peasant household, in each particular village, had as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Radolibos (1316) | 5.96 <i>modioi</i> (0.53 hectares) |
| Doxompous (1317) | 3.73 <i>modioi</i> (0.33 hectares) |
| Eunouchou (1318) | 4.82 <i>modioi</i> (0.42 hectares) |
| Krousobo (1318) | 1.76 <i>modioi</i> (0.15 hectares) |
| Melintzianê (1318) | 2.16 <i>modioi</i> (0.19 hectares) |
| Chandax (ca. 1333) | 2.22 <i>modioi</i> (0.19 hectares) |
| Nêsion (ca. 1333) | 2.50 <i>modioi</i> (0.22 hectares) |
| Peasants of Margaritês (1342) | 10.32 <i>modioi</i> (0.91 hectares) |

As it is clearly shown by the two tables, the majority of peasant-held vineyards were indeed small. A general average for the whole region is 4.94 *modioi* or 0.43 hectares. Only a very small proportion of the peasants seem to have had vineyards that exceeded a hectare in size (from 12 *modioi* and over). The size of vineyards that could be held by a single peasant family depended upon two major factors: first the availability of vacant land in the area of the settlement, second the working capacities of the family itself. This is due to the fact that, in contrast to the fields of arable, vineyards were carved out of lands of an inferior quality, which normally did not attract the interest of the lords and wealthy land-holders and remained vacant giving to the peasants the

opportunity to establish their personal possession there by planting one. Moreover, this is the major reason of the basic difference we can observe between the arable lands, being under a direct control of the wealthy land-holders, and the vineyards mainly in peasant possession.

The peasantry of South-eastern Macedonia responded to its basic nutritional needs by producing cereals, while viticulture and other crops - e.g. flax and cotton - served the always pressing needs for cash. As a consequence, work on arable lands and possession of vineyards constituted the primary economic activities of the peasantry. Any other kinds of rural property that appear in peasant possession contributed to their nutritional needs but were completely supplementary to their general economic situation and added little, if they added at all, to their revenue. To begin with the immobles, almost every peasant household should have had a vegetable garden. It was a piece of property so elementary that it should not be expected to be recorded in the fiscal registers. Some peasants also owned an orchard garden, usually consisting of a few trees, either dry (walnut, almond) or fresh (mulberry, cherry, fig, pear). Then, there were animals. Apart from the draught-animals, which were a major piece of property and indispensable element in an agrarian economy, several peasants appear in possession of other animals. First, we encounter those which are described in the registers as "*arga*". The term literally means "idle" and has the technical sense of bovines other than the draught ones, i.e. cows or, rarely, bulls used for reproduction. Swine are also encountered quite often as a proprietorial element among the peasant households in South-eastern Macedonia. Finally, some peasants had a flock of sheep and, sometimes, goats. Flocks of this kind are not encountered very often and were modest in size, in so far as the number of animals is concerned. They were owned by peasants primarily involved in agriculture and their economic role in the economy of the household was

rather secondary. The biggest herds in possession of a single family are two, comprising 120 and 50 sheep, and both of them are encountered in the village of Eunouchou in 1318³⁷. Proportionately, the most biggest number of peasants who have sheep in their possession appears in Radolibos with 21 of them having a herd, up to 40 sheep, out of a whole number of 242 households. The existence of peasants who happened to hold a flock is quite irrelevant to the question of pastoralism in the same region. Full-time shepherds with bigger flocks in their possession were certainly present in this region during the late Middle Ages, but their unsettled and transhumant life made them a rather distinct social category in relation to the peasants, moreover the sources of the 14th century do not contain any information about them.

The previous examination concerned all kinds of peasant property, of primary as well as secondary importance, which were present everywhere in the region of the present study. Apart from them, several of the settlements in the region were characterized by some other major assets in peasant possession, those concerned with fishing. Fishing was not present everywhere but only in settlements with access to the lake of Achinos or the sea. In places where the population could be involved in fishing activities, those were a principal aspect of the local economy. In this respect, it is not surprising that a large proportion of the inhabitants of Doxompous (located very close to the lake) were in possession of boats, 79 out of 121 households, and fish-ponds, 40 out of 121 households. In Chandax, where the locals had easy access to the open sea, there was a fishing boat in every household. Precise information exists only for these two settlements, but a widespread holding of boats or fish-ponds has to be supposed for all villages where fishing was possible.

The Ottoman conquest of these lands was accompanied by the legal ideal of the abolition of individual ownership of land. As a result, most landed properties were legally

owned by the state and the peasants who actually held them were officially regarded as tenants of the state, under the *tapu*, or *tasarruf*, scheme. In practical terms, however, the *tapu*-holding of a farm was, practically, not far from a situation of ownership, since it was held for life and could be safely transferred to a physical heir. Furthermore, the abolition of great landownership resulted in an important improvement of the situation of the peasants, as they became direct holders of the arable lands which in the late Byzantine period were normally reserved for the lords and wealthy landowners. The Ottoman registers of the 15th century are of a quite different nature from the Byzantine ones of the 14th, more precisely, they do not contain detailed descriptions of each household with the pieces of property attached to it. Therefore, there is a certain difficulty if someone tries to examine peasant possession in detail and cannot do so in the same way as for the previous century. Some more effort to discuss the development of peasant possession under Ottoman rule will be made in a following chapter concerned with population and economy in the villages of the region.

Notes

¹Ostrogorski, *Paysannerie*, 11-24.

²Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 142.

³Nesbitt, *Mechanisms*, 156.

⁴Ostrogorski, *Paysannerie*, 45-60. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 144-45, 148-49, 151.

⁵Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 145.

⁶Fr. Dölger, "Die Frage des Grundeigentums in Byzanz", *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, 5 (1939), 10.

⁷P. Charanis, *Social Structure: Byzantinoslavica*, 12 (1951), 120-24, 146-47.

⁸Ostrogorski, *Paysannerie*, 71-74.

⁹Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 142-43.

¹⁰Act. Chil., n. 14, pp. 35-36, n. 15, pp. 36-37.

¹¹Act. Zogr., n. 16, pp. 37-38.

¹²Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, n. 21, p.164.

¹³Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 162.

¹⁴Nevertheless, peasants, who appear in the *praktika* to have been in possession of no oxen, do not have to be definitely regarded as *pezoi*, because there is always the possibility for peasants who owned no oxen to rent one or two.

¹⁵Nesbitt, *Mechanisms*, 91-92. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 69. One *modios* is believed to be equal to 888.73 m², cf. Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 72-73. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 41.

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- ¹⁶Act. Iv. III, n. 75, p. 218.
- ¹⁷Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 68-69.
- ¹⁸Act. Zogr., n. 29, pp. 68-70.
- ¹⁹Act. Zogr., n. 29, p. 70.
- ²⁰Act. Zogr., n. 29, p. 71.
- ²¹Act. Zogr., n. 29, p. 70.
- ²²Act. Esph., n. 14, pp. 104-106.
- ²³Act. Iv. III, n. 74.6-7.29-32.143-46.157-59.183-84, pp. 194-95, 200-202.
- ²⁴Lemerle, *Praktikon*, 282-85.
- ²⁵*ibid.*, 283.
- ²⁶Lemerle, *Praktikon*, 282-85.
- ²⁷Act. Chil., n. 109, pp. 223-27.
- ²⁸Mavrommatis, *Grand Propriété: Byzantion*, 57 (1987), 78-80.
- ²⁹Act. Chil., n. 89, pp. 189-91. The *oncia* was another lower denomination of the golden Venetian *ducat*; it had the same value with the *hyperpyron* during the first half of the 14th century.
- ³⁰Mavrommatis, *Grand Propriété: Byzantion*, 57 (1987), 74-75, 81-83.
- ³¹The *praktika* that were used for these calculations are those of: Radolibos (1316), Aeidarokastro (1317), Doxompous (1317), Achinos (1318), Eunouchou (1318), Krousobo (1318), Melintzianê (1318), Chandax and Nêsion (ca. 1333), and the one that was drawn up for Margaritês (1342).
- ³²Act. Esph., n. 14, p. 106.
- ³³Act. Lavr. II, n. 105, pp. 172-73.
- ³⁴Act. Zogr., n. 29, pp. 69-70.
- ³⁵Lemerle, *Praktikon*, 282-85.
- ³⁶Lemerle, *Praktikon*, 282.
- ³⁷Act. Chil., n. 38.52.57, pp. 88-89.

Chapter 3.

The Ottoman Conquest of Southeastern Macedonia and the First Steps in the Establishment of New Administrative and Social Forms

The exact year and date of the capture of Serres by the Ottomans has long been known, thanks to the Short Chronicles, as September 19th 1383¹. Meanwhile, intense Turkish raiding of the Byzantine possessions in Macedonia was ongoing since not long after the battle of Černomen in 1371. *Gazi* intruders had reached the walls of Thessalonica in 1372², at the same time when Manuel Palaiologos was leaving the city in order to join his father, the Emperor John V, in the capital and be proclaimed co-emperor and heir to the throne. Although the Byzantine Emperor had become an Ottoman vassal by 1373, at the latest³, the Byzantine possessions in Macedonia and Western Thrace were still regarded as *dâr-ül-harb*⁴ and were the target of continuous attacks by the *gazis*. Most of the raiders were led by Ahmed Evrenos whom Murad I had appointed *uç-bey* in Gümülcine (Komotinê - a town he is traditionally believed to have captured himself in 1365/66) with the mission to prepare the Ottoman expansion westwards⁵.

The incursions lasted for ten years until the final assault, and were the first step in preparing the conquest of the country. The aims of the attackers were to demoralise the population, devastate the countryside, and isolate the cities and fortresses by disrupting and finally cutting off their communications and provisions. The *gazis* seem to have succeeded in these aims. Whatever scanty information we possess, concerning the warfare in Byzantine Macedonia between 1371 and 1383, comes from some letters of Dêmêtrios Kydonês. His descriptions paint a very black picture of the military situation. Before the second arrival of Manuel Palaiologos (1382) the Turks were supposed to have occupied towns and fortresses,

to have taken prisoners and booty, to have caused a lot of distraction, and to have persistently blockaded the cities⁶.

The first to anticipate the forthcoming Ottoman rule of the country were the monks of St. John Prodromos who appealed to Murad I in order to seek his protection. In as early as 1372/73 the Ottoman ruler took the monastery under his protection and guaranteed the freedom of the monks, and the safety and integrity of their possessions⁷.

The existence of Murad I's deliberation in favour of the Prodromos monastery (known to the Turks as *manastir-i Margarid*) has given reason for arguments concerning either the situation of Serres in the period 1371-83, or the authenticity of the document itself. All scholars who have dealt with this matter have had in mind the existence of other documents showing Serres under Byzantine administration in the mid-seventies of the 14th century; therefore, none of them took into serious consideration the possibility of an earlier capture of the town before 1383⁸. The information given by Chalkokondylês and an anonymous Greek chronicle of the Sultans, about Serres being under Ottoman rule when Manuel Palaeologus began his counter-offensive, can be safely regarded as inaccurate⁹. Dennis has argued in the right direction that the monastery lay outside Serres and was exposed to attacks and pillaging by the Turkish raiders. For this reason the monks pleaded for the protection of the Ottoman ruler and succeeded in receiving it¹⁰. Ostrogorski and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr have not contributed any further to this subject because they were misled in suggesting that either the monastery mentioned in the document is not the one of Prodromos in Serres but another with a similar name elsewhere, according to the former, or that the document is a fake or of a wrong date, according to the latter¹¹.

Zachariadou, finally, studied the document from the point of view of an Ottomanist and came to a similar conclusion as Dennis. She pointed out the presence of the word "*azatê*", which determines the agreement between the monks and Murad I, and stressed the fact that the intention of the decree was to guarantee the freedom and safety of the monks¹². It can be added here that nowhere in the text of the document is there any sign suggesting or implying that the monks were subjects of the Ottoman ruler or that they had any financial or other obligations towards him.

Manuel Palaiologos departed from Thessalonica on 6 April 1372 and did not come back for more than ten years¹³. Meanwhile he was proclaimed co-emperor and heir to the Byzantine throne. In 1376 he was arrested by his brother, who usurped the throne as Andronikos IV, and imprisoned together with his father for three years (1376-79). Every dynastic event in Byzantium during that period meant a strengthening of the ties of vassalage to the Ottomans. Murad I had helped Andronikos dethrone his father and brother in 1376 and was repaid with Gallipoli. Three years later he found it more profitable to restore John V to the throne. The latter had managed, meanwhile, to escape from his prison together with Manuel. Turkish and Venetian support helped the old Emperor regain Constantinople and the throne, but Andronikos, with the support of the Genoese, did not give up. Finally, as a result of a compromise, John V recognised Andronikos as his heir and had to renounce Manuel in 1381. The latter, who had spend a lot of time in the court of Murad I in fulfilment of his vassal status during the previous two years, was not satisfied with these developments and sailed off to Thessalonica in order to start a new rule of his own on the lands of his old appanage¹⁴.

Dennis suggests that his secret and surprising arrival in Thessalonica took place in the early days of November 1382¹⁵. His first action was to raise arms against the *gazis* who were

ravaging the Byzantine territories in Macedonia. Dennis dates his counter-offensives in late autumn 1382, immediately after his arrival, and then again in spring 1383, when the *gazis* reassumed their raids; he also provides evidence that the war was fought inland as well as at sea¹⁶. Manuel Palaiologos apparently had some initial successes; but the only source of those events, some letters of Demetrios Kydonês, are full of exaggeration. Kydonês wrote about triumphs, the recapture of lost fortresses and the relief of others from siege, many prisoners and booty, and the considerable enthusiasm caused in Constantinople with the news of the prince's victories¹⁷.

In reality, Manuel's deeds would have not been so illustrious. He, no doubt, succeeded in checking the inroads of irregular bands and probably caused them some losses. He also relieved the towns of the region (including Serres) from the constant pressure they had been under. However, it was impossible for Manuel to resist the full-scale campaign of the Ottoman army which was soon launched against his dominion.

Bearing in mind that Serres fell on 19 September 1383, it is reasonable to suggest that the march began in late spring or early summer of the same year. Serres was not the only town captured during that campaign, and, because of its strong fortifications, it was rather one of the last to fall.

Chalkokondylês states that Murad I sent his army against Manuel's dominion in order to avenge the latter's conspiratorial and rebellious behaviour¹⁸. Such a view of the Ottoman expedition as punishment for a renegade vassal is equally shared by Dennis and Barker¹⁹. This motive, however, must not be overestimated. The Ottoman chronicles of the events do not mention anything about Byzantine provocation of the hostilities. Furthermore, they make no mention of who was the enemy, no mention of Manuel Palaiologos and his military action, and

no mention of any resistance. These chronicles show the capture of Byzantine Macedonia as an ordinary event of the "Holy War" (*gaza*) without any particular motive. The probability of Manuel's activity to have had been a cause of the expedition against his lands and the existing testimonies on the matter have surely to be taken into account, but cannot be acknowledged with absolute certainty. Manuel's adventure was only an occasion for an Ottoman campaign against Byzantine Macedonia. The conquest of these lands was planned long before, and for that reason Evrenos Bey had been nominated *uç-bey* in Gümülcine and thence his *gazis* were attacking westwards.

The only source of information on the course of the Ottoman expedition are the early Ottoman chronicles. In this respect the descriptions of Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri are almost identical.

The *vizier* Hayreddin Çandarlı Paşa was ordered by Murad I to join Evrenos in Gümülcine; thence the Ottoman force advanced westwards. The operations are distinguished in three phases. First, Evrenos occupied the towns of Western Thrace still in Byzantine hands, namely Boru (Peritheôrion), Iksatiye (Xanthê) and Marulya (Maroneia). At the same time Delü Balaban was sent against Serres. According to Neşri, Hayreddin himself had joined the attack against Serres, while Aşıkpaşazade describes Lala Şahin, the first *beylerbey* of Rumelia, as being present as well. According to both chronicles, the towns of Kavala (Christoupolis), Drama and Zichna fell simultaneously with Serres. Finally, the Ottoman army advanced further west and occupied Berrhoia²⁰.

The two chronicles are not very precise in dating these events although their chronologies are not far from the actual dating. Neşri dates them in H.787 (A.D. 1385) and Aşıkpaşazade in the period between H.783 and H.787 (A.D. 1381-85) with his later limit

corresponding with the former's chronology. Thanks to the Short Chronicles we have more precise chronological information on those events. Assuming that Serres fell on 19 September 1383, it is logical to accept that the rest of Southeastern Macedonia had already fallen by that date or not much later. In late 1383 (when the long siege of Thessalonica began), or in the first months of 1384 at the latest, the whole of Byzantine Macedonia must have been conquered.

As far as Southeast Macedonia is concerned, the year 1384 is a mark of the definite establishment of Ottoman rule. Ostrogorski has pointed out, very successfully, that the will of John the *Grand Primmikyrios* (signed on 1 August 1384), in favour of the Athonite monastery of Pantokratôr, includes no mention of any domain or property of his in mainland Macedonia. Although he and his brother had a lot of wealth in the coastal areas of Eastern Macedonia, his will concerns only goods located on the island of Thasos. The reason for this omission is that Ottoman rule was already established on mainland Eastern Macedonia with the subsequent loss of John's domains and properties at the time of drawing his will²¹.

Vacalopoulos has suggested that the coastal towns of Chrysoupolis and Christoupolis (Kavala) managed to hold out against the Turkish assault longer. According to him, they surrendered in the same year as Thessalonica (1387), and Christoupolis was given an autonomous status similar to that of Thessalonica²². These suggestions of Vacalopoulos are not supported by the testimony of any source. Furthermore, they are contradicted by the definite mention of Kavala (i.e. Christoupolis) among the towns occupied during the Ottoman advance²³. More importantly, they are confronted by the argument of Ostrogorski, about the absence of references to these lands in the will of the Grand *primmikyrios*, especially when bearing in mind that in those two towns was the nucleus of John's and his brother's domain. Therefore, the opinions of Vacalopoulos about those two towns must be rejected, and the

history and date of their conquest should not be separated from those of the rest of Southeastern Macedonia.

It is generally accepted that the town of Serres was taken by force and thus was open to pillage and its inhabitants to enslavement. This hypothesis is based, firstly on the fact that the Metropolitan of Serres Matthew Phakrasês was taken and held prisoner for a long time²⁴, and, secondly on a letter of Kydonês where there is mention of plundering after the fall of Serres²⁵.

Eventhough the imprisonment of Phakrasês and the testimony of Kydonês provide good evidence of a forced capture, there are some points contradictory to that. None of the Byzantine churches was converted into mosques, in contrast to what was usual in such cases²⁶. Moreover, although the Metropolitan of Serres was taken into captivity, his See continued to exist and function with the rest of its staff present. More specifically, one of the church officials in Serres: the deacon Theodore Koubaras, the "*Khartophylax*" of the diocese, appears to have signed documents before as well as after the Ottoman conquest of the town²⁷. Vacalopoulos has plausibly proposed that Murad I was in general terms tolerant towards the Christian population of the town, by preventing their elimination and not depriving them of their churches²⁸. As for Zichna, nothing is known about the way it was taken, be it by force or by surrender. Nevertheless, whereas the Metropolitan of Serres was captured, the one of Zichna remained in his position uninterrupted²⁹. In some cases he presided over the diocese of Serres as an acting Metropolitan in the position of Matthew Phakrasês³⁰. The tolerance toward the Metropolitan of Zichna may give ground to the suggestion that the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest was even milder there than in Serres.

Straight after the conquest, Southeastern Macedonia began to be integrated into the early Ottoman administrative structures³¹. The first evidence of this comes from the Ottoman chronicles which provide almost identical information on the matter: *haraç* was imposed on the population and *timars* were allocated to the soldiers³². The notion of the imposition of *haraç* has significant implications. Those lands were no longer regarded as "infidel" territory but part of the Islamic realm. From that moment onwards, the non-Muslim population would be liable to *haraç*-taxation in return for living safely and enjoying whatever civil rights were provided for them by Islamic law. This fact on its own does not necessarily mean that the country came under a direct Ottoman rule, because the use of the term *haraç* could also mean the tribute extracted from lands which had recognized Ottoman suzerainty but, on the other hand, retained their autonomy. However, this was not the case of Southeastern Macedonia. The latter was an area which the Ottoman dynasty tried to incorporate from the beginning into their state structures. This is evident, first from the mention of the *timar*-institution being introduced in the region straight after the conquest, second by the establishment of other institutions, which we are going to explore shortly.

As a first step of being integrated within the contemporary administrative structures of the Ottomans, the newly conquered territories were declared a frontier-zone (*uç*). The Ottoman chronicles mention that the area of Serres was given as *uç* to Evrenos Bey³³. What actually happened was not the creation of a new separate frontier-zone around Serres, but the expansion of the already existing one, previously centred at Gümülcine, in order to incorporate the recent annexations. Anyway, the expanding march was not just limited to Serres. There is additional data showing that all territories occupied after the campaigns of 1383/84, against Manuel Palaiologos, and those of 1385/86, against Marko Kraljević and Balsa II Balsić, were

incorporated in the *uç* of Evrenos. Apart from the formerly Byzantine possessions, there were included the areas of Manastir, Kastoria, Bihliste and Hrupiste (the present-day Argos Orestikon), as far as the Albanian lands³⁴.

The *uç* was an early form of the Ottoman provincial administration in the Balkans. The term's use by the Ottomans reflected an Anatolian influence and kept in memory the days when Osman used to be himself an *uç-bey* on the Bithynian border. Nevertheless, the character of the Early Ottoman *uç* was different from its Anatolian (Seljuk or Mongol) precedent. According to its use by the Ottomans, the *uç* was an administrative form, a component of their developing institutional apparatus, rather than a quasi-independent form of principality. In essence, it reflected the ideals of "Holy War" and continuous expansion, therefore it is not strange that this system was employed only in the Balkans. An *uç* was created on newly conquered territories, still bordering non-Muslim countries, and was used as a base for further advance. When the region was no longer a borderland, the *uç* ceased to exist and was fully integrated within the mature and more centralized institutions of the early Ottoman provincial administration, such as the *beylerbeylik* and the *sancak*. Yet, the exact relation between the frontier-zones (*uç*) and the centrally controlled provinces (*beylerbeylik* and *sancak*), under the early Ottomans, is not clearly known. When Southeastern Macedonia was conquered, the *beylerbeylik* of Rumelia was already existing, and the same was true for the first Ottoman *sancak* on European soil, the so-called *Paşa sancak* of Edirne, which was governed directly by the *beylerbey*. It cannot be stated with certainty whether the territories under the command of Evrenos were to some degree independent from the *beylerbeylik* of Rumelia or not during those early years.

A principal difference between the march-lords (*uç-beys*) and the bureaucratic provincial officials (*beylerbey*, *sancakbey* and *subaşı*) was the formers' life-long hold of their position and the right to transfer command to their physical heirs, as long as the *uç* continued to exist. An *uç-bey* also had the right to establish his personal domain (*mülk* or *vakıf*) over a great deal of land inside the area of his command. According to a decree by Murad I, drawn up in 1386, Evrenos was permitted to include in his *vakıf* any land he wished from the regions of Gümülcine and Serres up to Hrupiste, Bihliste and Manastir (indicating thus the geographic extent of the province). That document has been proved to be a fake³⁵, but it does reflect some degree of reality as far as the territorial limits of the *uç* of Evrenos are concerned. The practice of establishing frontier-zones, with a considerable degree of self-rule, reflects the conditions of provincial government in an Ottoman state still in formation, when the *Emir* did not have absolute power over the *gazis* and their powerful leaders. Social relations too, were still in a process of taking shape, leaving the opportunity to the distinguished generals to appropriate large amounts of property and create their own domains in the newly conquered lands.

The Ottoman chronicles give the impression that the area under the command of Evrenos was limited only in Serres³⁶. But the evidence displayed above shows that Serres was only one of the territories included. The centre of the *uç* was not in Serres but in the new Muslim city of Yeniçe Vardar. The latter was founded under Evrenos's patronage and it is there where he and his sons were buried.

Some information concerning the administration of Serres and Zichna during the first years after their conquest is found in different sources. Two monastic documents of the first years of Ottoman rule mention a *subaşı* present at Serres. In every case the office of *subaşı* is

equated with the Late Byzantine one of *kephalê*. In the first instance, a *subaşı* of Serres called Ibrahim had given his verdict on a difference concerning ecclesiastical properties in 1387³⁷. The second recorded *subaşı* was a certain Kutlu Bey who was present at a council of the diocese of Serres in 1388³⁸. In the second case, there is direct mention of the title of *subaşı*, given in the graecisized form: "*soupasês*". It is also added that Kutlu Bey was acting in replacement of a certain Hidir Pasa³⁹.

From our observations of the involvement of *subaşı*s in affairs of disputed ecclesiastical property, it follows that their authority extended to all civic matters and not just to military ones. The presence of two different people holding this post at Serres in two consecutive years, either serves as evidence that it was not a long term appointment, or suggests that Hidir Pasa was the actual *subaşı* of Serres, but because of his absence (perhaps he was participating in campaigns) others had to deputize for him temporarily.

In contrast to the *subaşı*s of Serres who were Muslim Turks, the one recorded at Zichna was a Christian. All information about him is found in the works of Ali Yazicioğlu. More specifically, he mentions the last Byzantine governor of Berrhoia, a person called Lyzacos, who was some years later taken to Zichna by Bayezid I (1389-1402) and was appointed there to the post of *subaşı*⁴⁰. Yazicioğlu provides further information on Lyzacos's ancestry by making known that he was a descendant of the Seljuk *Sultan* Izzeddin Kaykaus II who had long ago settled in Byzantium⁴¹. Yazicioğlu's reason for recording the story of Lyzacos was the case of two Christian brothers from Zichna, Miho and Dimitri Sultan⁴², who had presented themselves to the court of *Sultan* Murad II in order to acknowledge their kinship to Lyzacos and request the same tax-exemption as he had⁴³. Wittek accepts the

historical accuracy of the whole story, for Yazicioğlu was a secretary in Murad II's chancery and could be personally acquainted with the event.

Therefore, Lyzakos was one of the first *subaşı*s of Ottoman Zichna and was given by the Ottomans a position similar to the one he had held in Byzantine Berrhoia. Appointment of a Christian as governor of a city or territory was not a strange practice in the Early Ottoman state. Examples from Albania serve as the best demonstration of such a policy. After the annexation of the Albanian lands in the late 14th century, the first step towards transforming the local independent (or semi-independent) principalities into Ottoman provinces was to reconfirm the previous rulers in their command and declare them *subaşı*s⁴⁴. Their personal domain and revenue (*has*) was made up of several settlements in their respective lands, including the place where they resided, with the rest of the region being divided into *timars* and given to Muslim or Christian *sipahis*. The old ruling families did not keep their governing positions for more than one or two generations, but in some cases the region they had ruled kept their name for a long time⁴⁵. A difference between the Albanian lords and Lyzakos was the latter's removal from the place he was commanding before and his transfer to a different area. His Turkish ancestry should not have been the only reason for the privileges he had received from Beyezid I. Having been formerly the commander of Byzantine Berrhoia, he can be logically expected to have offered very little resistance, if any, against the Ottoman army. He had rather surrendered the city to them and, as a result, he was rewarded with admittance to the Ottoman military aristocracy. According to Yazicioğlu, he was also immune from paying taxes⁴⁶. However, members of the Ottoman military class were in principle expected to pay no tax, therefore there seems no need for Lyzakos to be awarded such a special privilege. The question is solved when bearing in mind that Lyzakos was a Christian, thus liable for the poll-

tax (*cizye*) irrespective of his social status. Due to his noble Turkish ancestry he must have been immune from that particular tax as well, therefore Yazicioğlu's reference of exemption is justified.

A combination of references from several sources can help to illuminate the process of developing social relations in Southeastern Macedonia after the Ottoman conquest. After having studied the incorporation of the whole land into a large *uç-beylik*, and, then, the appointment of *subaşı*s to the command of the towns and surrounding territories, the next aspect of socioeconomic and administrative structure to be examined is the *timar*.

In first place, there is the testimony of the Ottoman chronicles according to which, *timars* were given "to the men" (*erlerine*) straight after the conquest. The "men" must have been either irregulars (*akinci*) or soldiers of the standing army (*yaya* and *müsellem*) who had given such a good performance in battle that they could be promoted to the higher rank of *sipahi* and be granted *timars*. The evidence of the chronicles is, on its own, very valuable for both the history of the *timar* as an institution and the history of Macedonia. It marks the date of the first employment of the practice in that particular area. Furthermore, there is additional evidence from other sources that sheds more light on the early history of the *timar* in Macedonia.

Two documents concerning the village of Achinos, and the efforts of three Athonite monasteries to gain possession of the half share of it⁴⁷, are found in the archives of Chilandar and Esphigmenou monasteries respectively. The document of Esphigmenou is a deliberation of the council of the diocese of Serres from February 1393 and contains valuable information about Dêmétrios Laskaris who held the other half of the village. As expressed in the Greek text, his possession was not on a hereditary or full-ownership basis, but a result of "*pronoia*

authentikê"⁴⁸. By using Byzantine terminology of relevant meaning, the authors of the document meant that the domain of Laskaris was actually a *timar*. From the document of Chilandar, a decree of the council of Abbots in Athos (December 1392), we are informed that his full name was Dêmêtrios Bryennios Laskaris. He was, therefore, a relative of Makarios Bryennios who is mentioned in the document of Esphigmenou in relation with the same case⁴⁹. Makarios Bryennios was an influential personality. With the end of the siege of Thessalonica and the city's surrender to the Turks (1387) he was able to mediate with Hayreddin Paşa on behalf the Thessalonican monastery of Akapniou, in order that this monastery be able to re-establish its possession over half of the village of Achinos, which made up a domain of the same monastery in the past⁵⁰. The remaining share of the village was the one held as a *timar* by Dêmêtrios Bryennios Laskaris a few years later. In this respect, the case of Laskaris gives an example to notable Christians in possession of *timars* in the early years after the Ottoman conquest, the same as a member of the Serbian family of Sampias, probably Radoslav, who appears to have been in possession of a *timar* in the region of Chalkidikê by 1386, the year that his holding was renewed⁵¹.

Evidence of two other *timars*, potentially as old as the former, exists in the cadastral register TTD-3 of 1454/55. These were the *timars* held by the *kadis* of Serres and Zichna. Although there is no precise chronology of their establishment, they are recorded as having existed since long ago⁵². In the same register there is a record of the *timar* held by the *imam* of Demirhisar (Sidêrokastron) with a precise reference to its existence since the period of Bayezid I (1389-1402)⁵³. As far as the *timars* held by the *kadis* of Serres and Zichna are concerned, the duration of their existence (*evvelden*) probably dates as far back as Bayezid I's

period of rule. *Timars* existing since Bayezid I's era have been recorded in other areas of Macedonia as well, for example seven *timars* in the region of Kastoria⁵⁴.

The recorded *timars* which are found in Eastern Macedonia during the earliest years of Ottoman rule were held by *kadis*, an *imam* and a Greek. There is no particular data concerning military *timars* although they have to be presumed as already established, according to the chronicles⁵⁵. Although the *timar* was the principal early Ottoman method for financing the provincial administration, its main character was military⁵⁶. By the time the system had reached maturity (mid-15th century) the vast majority of *timars* were of a military nature. Nevertheless, during the early years of Ottoman expansion in the Balkans (up to the period of Mehmed I's reign (1412-21)), the *timar*-holding cavalry of *sipahis* were not yet the principal element of the Ottoman standing army. Most soldiers were still enlisted as *eskinçi* (*yaya* and *müsellem*) and were allocated not a feudal domain, as was the case with the *sipahi*, but only a farm, enough to provide for their and their family's subsistence⁵⁷. Therefore, *timar*-holding was not yet the predominant fiscal arrangement and there was still enough land in Eastern Macedonia (as elsewhere in the Balkans) for the great Ottoman commanders to create their own personal hereditary domains, or for the Christian church to retain enough of its possessions.

With regard to the position of the Byzantine landholding aristocracy, the Ottoman conquest resulted, in general terms, in discontinuity. Most of its members either perished, or were driven away, or lost their landed domains, and most of their properties, and became mere city dwellers liable to taxation. A characteristic example is John the *Grand Primmikyrios*. From his enormous wealth in mainland Macedonia there was nothing left to bequeath to the Pantokrator monastery in 1384, soon after the Ottoman occupation of the land⁵⁸.

A part of the local higher class, however, did manage to come to terms with the Ottomans, welcomed their authority and were willing to co-operate with them. These kept their notable position among the Christian community, acting as their representatives together with the church. They even retained their status of land-lord by being allocated lands and revenues as *has* and *timar*.

One of them was Lyzakos who was appointed *subaşı* in Zichna, thus being granted a post quite similar to his previous one in Byzantine Berrhoia. Another one was Makarios Bryennios. According to the existing information about him, from the aforementioned document of Esphigmenou, he was offered by Hayreddin Paşa the village of Achinos during the siege of Thessalonica (1383-87). After the submission of Thessalonica (1387), he appealed to Hayreddin in order that the previous owners of that village, i.e. the monastery of Akapniou, be given back half of it. He succeeded in doing so and received a patent by Hayreddin⁵⁹ confirming the restitution of the monastery's possession-rights over its old domain. Then, Demetrios Bryennios Laskaris appears to keep the other half of the village as *timar* in 1393⁶⁰.

After taking into consideration this information, the case of Bryennios can be reconstructed as follows. Makarios Bryennios had accomodated himself with the Ottomans straight after the conquest, or even before. While Thessalonica was under siege, the Ottomans were arranging the already conquered territories according to their own practices and Makarios Bryennios was one of the local beneficiaries, as demonstrated by his acquisition of the village of Achinos. Assuming that the holding of Dêmêtrios Bryennios Laskaris was a *timar*, then the possession of the entire settlement by Makarios would have been of that type. Although a *timar* could not be easily broken up or declassified, Makarios must have been influential enough to request and succeed in achieving this. Dêmêtrios Bryennios Laskaris,

most likely a son or son-in-law of Makarios Bryennios, was, with certainty, a resident of Serres, for he was present at a local ecclesiastical council in 1388 together with the *subaşı* Kutlu Bey and the clergymen of the area⁶¹. Therefore Makarios Bryennios has to be presumed a resident of the same town.

Another Greek notable in early Ottoman Serres was Manuel Doukas. Nothing else is known about him apart from his being present at the same council as Dêmétrios Bryennios Laskaris in 1388. He and the latter were the only namely recorded laymen representing the Christian community of Serres. They are characterized as "*eugenestatoi*" (the most noble)⁶². Because he held the same social position as Laskaris, it is plausible to suggest that Manuel Doukas was a *timar*-holding landlord (i.e. a Christian *sipahi*) as well.

This evidence highlights the fact that a part of the Christian aristocracy continued to exist under the Ottomans, during the early years after the conquest, and consisted of persons who were included in the Ottoman landholding class through the possession of *timars*. Together with ecclesiastical officials, they had a say in local affairs. Whereas the Metropolitan of Serres Matthew Phakrasês seems to have been a champion of resistance, an attitude which resulted in his captivity, others were able to accommodate themselves with the new authority and were rewarded with entrance to its higher social strata. But this situation must not mislead us into exaggerating thoughts. Those of the Byzantine land-lords who managed either to retain their status, or to transform themselves into *sipahi*, were exceptional cases. They were also very few compared to their Moslem and Turkish counterparts.

Long before the official recognition of the Orthodox Patriarchate by Mehmed II, the Ottoman authorities were already regarding the church as an intermediary between themselves

and their Christian subjects. In this respect, the structures and functions of the church were left uninterrupted, and ecclesiastical property was more easily retainable than secular property.

The years preceding the Ottoman occupation of Southeastern Macedonia are poorly documented as far as monastic possessions are concerned. It is generally accepted that Manuel Palaiologos had confiscated some amount of monastic property in order to distribute them as military grants. The amount of monastic wealth in this region is likely to have been less in the year of the Ottoman conquest compared to the peak levels it had reached during the period of Serbian domination. The proportion of the reduction, however, cannot be known because of lack of data.

Nevertheless, when the Ottomans first arrived in the areas of Southeastern Macedonia, along the banks of lower Strymon and around Mts. Pangaion and Symbolon, they certainly found considerable monastic possessions there. For this reason they gave the name of Keşişlik ("land of Christian priests") to that area. An administrative unit *-subaşılik-* under this name, is first recorded as existing in the mid-15th century⁶³. The Ottomans used sometimes to call the territories they conquered after the name of their previous master. In the case of Keşişlik, they had presumably found large numbers of monks in the monastic estates and *metochia*, which were established there, and that was impressed on them as the main characteristic of the region.

A few surviving documents from the Athonite archives illustrate some examples of monastic holdings in Southeastern Macedonia, during the very early years of Ottoman rule. They even demonstrate that some monasteries were still in possession of properties and domains which they had held in earlier periods.

In the year 1386, the monastery of Lavra was still in possession of the village of Bernarous. The monks of Lavra were then in dispute with those of Koutloumousiou who were in possession of the neighbouring village of Mitropolitou. The dispute was over land and other assets, reportedly an inn, a harbouring dock and a fishery, held by the monks of Koutloumousiou but claimed by those of Lavra as having been usurped from their estates of Bernarous. The Patriarch Neilos had received an appeal from the monks of Lavra, laying claim to those pieces of property. But following a thorough investigation, carried out by the Metropolitan of Zichna, the Patriarch was convinced that the monastery of Koutloumousiou was in rightful possession of the disputed elements, according to donations by Dušan and Uglješa in the past. Consequently he judged in favour of the monastery of Koutloumousiou and rejected Lavra's appeal⁶⁴.

Another appeal was made by the monks of Esphigmenou in 1387 in order to have their old *metochi* of St. George Paryakos restored. The aforementioned church of St. George was in the past taken from them by John the *Grand Primmikyrios*. The latter had assigned half of the church's revenue to his personal vicar, while the rest was appropriated by the bishopric of Chrysoupolis in whose jurisdiction the church lay as a parish one. The case was taken to the Patriarch and the *subaşı* of Serres, Ibrahim, by the *Logothetês* of the diocese of Serres, Manuel Xenophôn⁶⁵. Both of those high authorities verdicted in favour of Esphigmenou monastery. The *metochi* had to be restored and that decision did not meet any opposition by the clergy of Chrysoupolis⁶⁶.

More information about monastic properties, for the year 1392, concerns lands held by the monasteries of Pantokratôr and Karakalou in the vicinity of Chrysoupolis. The two monasteries were in dispute over the exact border of their respective estates. After an appeal

by the monks of Karakalou, the Head of the Abbots of Mt. Athos (*Prôtos*) carried out an investigation resulting in a verdict calling for a slight modification of the border in favour of Karakalou monastery⁶⁷.

The case of Achinos, finally, involved several monasteries. The possession of Akapniou monastery over half of the village was re-established in 1387 as a result of benevolent action by Makarios Bryennios and Hayreddin Paşa. Nevertheless, the Thessalonican monastery was soon afterwards in extreme economic difficulties and had to sell that domain⁶⁸. There are two slightly different accounts of how the affair continued afterwards. According to the act of the Abbots of Mt. Athos that survives in the archives of Chilandar (December 1392), Dêmêtrios Bryennios Laskaris, the *timar*-holder of the other share of the village, bought the domain of Akapniou and then made a donation of it to the monastery of Koutloumousiou⁶⁹. In the second document, an act of the ecclesiastical council of Serres from the archives of Esphigmenou (February 1393), is stated that Laskaris was acting from the beginning as a frontman for the monks of Koutloumousiou, who could not purchase the domain directly themselves⁷⁰. In fact, the acquisition of half of the village of Achinos by the monastery of Koutloumousiou caused a quick reaction by both the monasteries of Chilandar and Esphigmenou.

Appeals from both monasteries were directed exclusively against Laskaris. The monastery of Akapniou does not seem involved anymore. The first to raise objections were the monks of Chilandar. They denied those of Koutloumousiou the right to acquire the village and claimed that it had to be given to their monastery. Their claim was based on pre-emptive rights arising from other possessions their monastery had in the same area. Soon, after the council of Abbots in Athos inquired into the case and the Metropolitan of Serres gave his advice,

Laskaris had to sell the domain to the monastery of Chilandar instead, and to return to the monastery of Koutlounousiou the payment he had received earlier⁷¹. From the last point it becomes clear that Laskaris had actually used cash from Koutlounousiou in order to purchase the domain from the monastery of Akapniou.

The arrangements that enabled the monastery of Chilandar to acquire the village were completed and confirmed in December 1392 by the council of Abbots at Athos⁷². At that point the involvement of the Esphigmenou monastery began. By presenting equal rights of pre-emption, the monks of Esphigmenou claimed the domain for their own monastery. Just three months after the decision in favour of Chilandar was drawn up, the council of the diocese of Serres, with the *Prôtos* of Athos Hieremias present as well, made a proposal in favour of the final transfer of the domain to the monastery of Esphigmenou in February 1393, though without making clear how the monastery of Koutlounousiou was going to be compensated in that case⁷³. This is the last known development concerning that affair; presumably the case did not finish there, and it is not definitely clear which monastery finally acquired the half share of Achinos.

After having observed these few recorded affairs concerning monastic property during the earliest years of Ottoman rule, it becomes clear that the Ottoman authorities had allowed the Christian clerical and monastic bodies a considerable degree of autonomy whenever proprietorial issues were arisen. Matters related to transfer of such property and disputes were left to the church's higher authorities, although the Ottoman officials could make their judgement as well⁷⁴.

Monastic holdings still included large feudal domains encompassing entire villages. If one attempts to classify these monastic possessions according to early Ottoman forms, they

were rather free-hold properties, although the terms *mülk* or *vakıf*, did not designate them during those early years. The data about Achinos, in particular, can serve as good evidence with regard to the status of monastic domains. Following the restitution of half of the village to the Akapniou monastery, the status of *timar*, which had applied to the entire settlement when held by Makarios Bryennios, was no longer valid for the monastery's share. Thereafter, the domain was alienated and transferred, something impossible for a *timar*.

The procedures of transferring, alienating and acquiring monastic property were bound by rules of pre-emption, one of which was proximity. The monastery of Koutloumousiou was unable to purchase the half of Achinos village, because it owned no other estates in the same area, in contrast to the monasteries of Chilandar and Esphigmenou. Those pre-emption rules affected lay persons as well. In Esphigmenou's appeal for Achinos it is supported that Demetrios Bryennios Laskaris had not to be allowed to buy the domain of Akapniou, even as a frontman. According to their argument, his proximity right was not strong, because his possession of the other share of the village was not one of full-ownership but a restricted one (i.e. *timar*)⁷⁵. Another pre-emption rule was the one of possession in the past. The monks of Esphigmenou based their appeal for claiming the half-share of Achinos on the fact that their monastery had owned property within the vicinity of the disputed village in the past⁷⁶. That was indeed a strong point, and, as a result, they received a favourable decision by the ecclesiastical council that took place in Serres in February 1393.

Religious bodies were among the wealthier proprietors in most medieval and early modern societies. This has been adequately explored in the present study, with regard to the property of the Orthodox church and monasteries in Southeastern Macedonia. As shown earlier, the Ottoman conquest of the land did not bring the abolition of Christian ecclesiastical

property. The important development of the introduction of Islamic faith, a consequence of the conquest, meant that Islamic foundations were to stand next to the Christian ones. Islamic religious foundations would become soon another important proprietor within this region.

The first Islamic foundations to emerge during the early years after the conquest were, first, the mosque later known as "Old Mosque" or "Grand Mosque" (*eski cami, atik cami, cami el kebir*), which was patronized by the Grand Vizier Hayreddin Çandarlı and dedicated to Sultan Murad I⁷⁷, and, second, the *zaviye* (dervish convent) of the *molla* Bahaeddin Paşa. The early history of this *zaviye* is better known than the mosque's because two surviving documents from the years 1388 and 1390 provide some information about its foundation and endowment. From these documents becomes known that Bahaeddin Paşa had endowed his *zaviye* with two villages in the district of Serres⁷⁸. Which particular villages those two were it is not recorded, but one of them can be presumed to have been the village of Lakos (also known as Makeşi) which appears in the later *defters* TTD-3 and TTD-7 as a possession of the *zaviye*⁷⁹.

The last two decades of the 14th century in Southeastern Macedonia are poorly documented and this becomes a significant disadvantage for studying such an important period that corresponds with the conquest of the land by the Ottomans and the first stages of establishing their administration and their social structures there. However, the few and fragmentous existing data, when put together, permitted us to restore a rather comprehensive picture of the region during the early years of Ottoman rule. Important administrative developments such as the incorporation of the region in the march led by Evrenos, the appointment of *subaşı*s to the command of the towns, the distribution of *timars*, had reportedly taken place straight after the conquest of the land. Other surviving evidence

demonstrates that some of the region's settlements were still under the possession of Christian religious foundations, like the villages of Bernarous, Mitropolitou, half of the village of Achinos. At the same time, other settlements came under the possession of newly established Muslim foundations, like the two villages bestowed on the *zaviye* of Bahaeddin Paşa (one of them was probably the village of Lakos).

The existing data for Southeastern Macedonia in the late years of the 14th century, though few and fragmentous, were adequate for reconstructing the outlines and basic features of how the Ottoman authority was first established there and for making use of some illustrative examples. The following fifty years, i.e. the first half of the 15th century, is a fully obscure period for Southeastern Macedonia with almost no data (apart from very few chronicle references to events taking place in the city of Serres) until the earliest *tahrir-defter* of the region, the TTD-3, was drawn up, most probably in 1454/55 (H. 859).

Notes

¹Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, n. 55, p. 398, n. 60, p. 451.

²Vacalopoulos, *Macedonia*, 30-32. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 31.

³Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 277.

⁴Literally "domain of the war", a territory open to the attack of *gazis*. cf. Inalcik, *Ottoman Empire*, 7.

⁵On the appointment of Evrenos as *uç-bey* in Gümülcine: Aşıkpaşazade, 56. Irène Melikoff, *Evrenos*: in *El*, 720. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 31. On the date of capture of Gümülcine: Ostrogorski, *Serska oblast*, 155-60.

⁶Dennis, *Reign*, 55-56, 61-62.

⁷The declaration of Murad I (carrying the date H. 774, 1st decade of *Receb* = 27/12/1372 - 5/1/1373) survives in a Greek translation of his act that is preserved in the archives of the monastery. Most recent editions are those by Guillou (Arc. St. Jean, actes Turcs n. 1, p. 155) and Zachariadou, *Prodromos: SOF*, 28 (1969), 2-3.

⁸Only Lemerle has suggested that the Ottomans could have brought Serres into vassalage and under their military control already in 1372, while civil authority could have been left to the Byzantines. Lemerle, *Philippe*, 217.

⁹Chalkokondylês, I 42, 5-10. Zoras, *Chronikon*, 25.

¹⁰Dennis, *Reign*, 66-67.

¹¹Ostrogorski, "La prise de Serrès par les Turcs", *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 317. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*, 180-82. Eadem., "La prise de Serrès par les Turcs", *Acta Historica*, 4 (1965), 16.

¹²The word "azatê" of the text is a graecisized form of the Turkish word *azadlık* which means "liberation of slaves or prisoners". Zachariadou, *Prodromos: SOF*, 28 (1969), 11-12.

¹³For the date of his departure: Dennis, *Reign*, 55.

¹⁴For the dynastic quarrels and the general political situation of Byzantium in the seventies of the fourteenth century cf. Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 277-82. Barker, *Manuel II*, 23-42. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 32-33.

¹⁵Dennis, *Reign*, 59-60.

¹⁶Dennis, *Reign*, 69, 72-73.

¹⁷Dennis, *Reign*, 61-63. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 33-34. Some exaggeration is also found in works of modern scholarship where it is claimed that Manuel Palaiologos raised more resistance against the Ottomans than any other ruler in Southeastern Europe at that time. cf. Vacalopoulos, *Macedonia*, 28.

¹⁸Chalkokondylês, I 42, 5-10.

¹⁹Dennis, *Reign*, 63-64; 73-74. Barker, *Manuel II*, 49-50.

²⁰Aşikpaşazade, 56. Neşri, I, 214/15. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 34.

²¹Ostrogorski, "La prise de Serrès par les Turcs", *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 318-19. The text of the will in Act. Pantok., n. 10, pp. 99-102.

²²Vacalopoulos, *Macedonia*, 64, 65-67.

²³Aşikpaşazade, 56. Neşri, I, 214/15.

²⁴Dennis, *Reign*, 75. Vacalopoulos, *Macedonia*, 41.

²⁵Dennis, *Reign*, 75.

²⁶Vacalopoulos, *Macedonia*, 41.

²⁷Act. Chil., n. 151, p. 320, n. 158, p. 140.

²⁸Vacalopoulos, *Macedonia*, 41.

²⁹His name was Matthew as well. cf. Act. de Chil., n. 158, p. 340.

³⁰Act. Chil., n. 158, p. 340. Act. Kutl., n. 38, p. 145.

³¹With the exception of Thessalonica where an autonomous status was preserved from 1387 to 1391. cf. Vacalopoulos, *Macedonia*, 64-67. -

³²"...vilayetlerini timar erlerine üleştirdiler kafırlarına haraç tayin ettiler..." Aşıkpaşazade, 56. "...timar erlerine üleşdirüb kâfırlara haraçın tâyin idüb..." Neşri, I, 215.

³³Aşıkpaşazade, 56. Neşri, I, 214/15. Mutaščhieva, *Agrarian Relations*, 9.

³⁴Mutaščhieva, *Agrarian Relations*, 9.

³⁵Mutaščhieva, *Agrarian Relations*, 9. On the matter of the document's authenticity, cf. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*, n. 47, pp. 228-30, 234.

³⁶"...Evrenoz gazi'ye Siroz'u uç verdiler...", Aşıkpaşazade, 56. "...Evrenoz'a Siroz'u uç verdiler...", Neşri, 215.

³⁷Act. Esph., n. 28, p. 167.

³⁸Act. Chil., n. 158, p. 336.

³⁹"*topotêrêtês*", *ibidem.*, 336.

⁴⁰The relevant part of Yazicioglu's unpublished work is used and acknowledged by Wittek ("Ali Yazicioglu et la descendance turc en Dobrudja", *EO*, 30 (1934), 409-12. Also Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Hoi Christianoi Apogonoi tou Izzeddin Kaikaous II stê Berrhoia", *Makedonika*, 6 (1964-65), 63.

⁴¹Izzeddin Kaykaus II was dethroned by his brother and had to flee first to Byzantium, where he was received by the Emperor Michael VIII (in 1259), then to the Crimea. Some of his family remained in Byzantium and Lyzacos was one of their descendants.

⁴²Sultan (Soultanos) was the surname they were known for.

⁴³Wittek, *loc cit.*, 409-12. Zachariadou, *loc.cit.*, 63.

⁴⁴H. Inalcik, "Timatiotes chrétiens en Albanie", *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatarchives*, 4 (1951), 124-26.

⁴⁵e.g. *vilayet-i Zenebis, vilayet-i Pavlo Kurtik, nâhiyet-i Muzakiye*.

⁴⁶Wittek, *loc.cit.*, 409-12. Zachariadou, *loc.cit.*, 63-64.

⁴⁷The monasteries of Kutlounousiou, Chilandar and Esphigmenou.

⁴⁸Act. Esph., n. 30, p. 175.

⁴⁹Act. Esph., n. 30, p. 175.

⁵⁰Act. Esph., n. 30, p. 175.

⁵¹V. Boškov, "Jedan Originalan Nišan Murata I. iz 1386 godine u Manastiru Svetog Pavla na Svetoj Gori" *POF*, 27 (1977), 225-46. N. Beldiceanu – Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Un faux document Ottoman concernant Radoslav Sampias", *Turcica*, 12 (1980), 161-68. H.-G. Majer, "Some Remarks on the Document of Murad I from the Monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos (1386)", in K. Chrysochoidês (ed.), *Mount Athos in the 14th-16th Centuries*, Athens 1997, 33-39.

⁵²"*Timar-i kadı-i Siroz. Evvelden kadı'nin tasarruf ediğilmiş*" TTD-3, 262.

⁵³TTD-3, 74. Stojanovski, *Dokumenti*, IV, 90.

⁵⁴Sokoloski, *Dokumenti*, II, 100-108.

⁵⁵Aşikpaşazade, 56. Neşri, I, 214/15.

⁵⁶Mutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations*, 8.

⁵⁷Mutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations*, 10.

⁵⁸Ostrogorski, "La prise de Serrès par les Turcs", *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 318-19.

⁵⁹"*orkomôtikon*", in the Greek text.

⁶⁰Act. Esph., n. 30, p. 175.

⁶¹Act. Chil., n. 158, p. 336.

⁶²Act. Chil., n. 158, p. 336. There is also a general mention of several other notables as being present in the same council, although not clear whether Moslem or Christian, secular or clerical: "...*kai heterôn ouk oligôn tôn tês politeias archôntôn*...".

⁶³TTD-3, 332. TTD-7, 160. Lowry, *Keşişlik*, 15-26.

⁶⁴Act. Kutl., n. 38, pp. 143-45.

⁶⁵Since the Metropolitan Matthew Phakrasês was absent in captivity.

⁶⁶Act. Esph., n. 28, pp. 166-67.

⁶⁷Act. Pantok., n. 13, pp. 114-15.

⁶⁸Act. Chil., n. 160. pp. 342-43. Act. Esph., n. 30, p. 175.

⁶⁹Act. Chil., n. 160, p. 343.

⁷⁰Act. Esph., n. 30. p. 175.

⁷¹Act. Chil., n. 160, pp. 342-43.

⁷²*ibidem.*, p. 344.

⁷³Act. Esph., n. 30, 175-76.

⁷⁴As demonstrated by the involvement of the *subaşı* of Serres Ibrahim in the case of Esphigmenou's claim for St. George Paryakos. Act. Esph., n. 28, pp. 166-67.

⁷⁵Act. Esph., n. 30, p. 175.

⁷⁶That was a reasonable claim, as one can recall their *metochi* of Laimin, in the vicinity of Achinos village, with the properties and *paroikoi* it had under control during the early decades of the 14th century.

⁷⁷M. Kiel, "Observations on the History of Northern Greece during the Turkish Rule. Historical and Architectural Description of the Turkish Monuments of Komotini and Serres, their Place in the Development of Ottoman Turkish Architecture, and their Present Condition", *Balkan Studies*, 12 (1971), 431-32. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 91-94.

⁷⁸Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 182-83. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*, n. 50, pp. 244-47. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 113.

⁷⁹TTD-3, 240-41. TTD-7, 345-46.

Chapter 4.

Land distribution and Proprietorship in Southeastern Macedonia in the mid-15th century: the sultanic estates and the large fiscal domains

i. General considerations

What mainly typifies the situation of Southeastern Macedonia in the 15th century is the setting up of those institutions that were prevalent in the "Classical Age"¹ of the Ottoman Empire, as far as land-distribution, landownership and administration are concerned. Behind the curtain of the institutional overstructure lay the mechanisms of economic relationships, predominantly those concerned with fiscal arrangements, which underlined their contemporary social trends as well as the structure of the state apparatus. Unfortunately, the surviving sources of data for Southeastern Macedonia are no earlier than the mid-fifties of the 15th century². Inevitably, an administrative and socioeconomic study of the region has to be focused on the middle and second half of the century, whereas a basic outline of the political situation during the preceding half a century can be reconstructed from the few and isolated references that are found in narrative sources.

The main sources on which this study relies, the *tahrir-defters*, illuminate the fiscal regime of the region in question. The term "fiscal regime" is preferred to "land regime" because of its broader sense which can be applied to the study of fiscal revenues raised from activities other than agriculture, e.g. mining, commercial taxation etc., though the latter were conducted in exactly the same way as those of an agrarian provenance.

Within this context, the use of terms such as landlordship or landownership needs to be adjusted accordingly. Before introducing the aspect of lordship in the 15th-century Ottoman context, it is necessary to establish a theoretical framework sufficient to justify

the use of the term itself. First, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the majority of the productive population (*reaya*), the peasantry in particular, were personally free, but, on the other hand, they were economically dependent and, at least in principle, tied to their legal and social status³. The subsequent step is to distinguish between different fiscal categories. First, there was the so-called *miri* establishment including lands and other sources of revenue which, in principle, belonged to the state, then the *mülk* and *vakıf* domains that were owned by individuals or by public-benefit foundations. *Mülk* meant, in general terms, any freehold possession from a residential house to an estate encompassing an entire peasant settlement or more. In the second case, the *mülk* estate was more or less similar with the feudal domains that had already existed in the Balkans before the Ottoman conquest. The same was true about the *vakıf*, especially in cases where a *vakıf* domain was established over a peasant settlement. It made little difference whether those who maintained the estate and collected the revenues it generated were individual owners, as in the *mülk*, or the stewards of a religious or public-benefit foundation, as in the *vakıf*.

Leaving aside the *mülk* and *vakıf* domains, which are clear examples of a relationship between lord and dependent peasant, it is more important to deal with the issue as far as the *miri* lands are concerned. More specifically, a subject to be dealt with here is whether those individuals who received allocations of fiscal revenues from *miri* lands, i.e. *has* and *timar* holders, can be regarded as the lords of the settlements they were assigned.

If one follows the opinions of Vera Mutaščieva, who regarded the *timar* as a form of "feudal" landownership, *timar*-holders have definitely to be viewed as the lords of their land assignments. The views she advocates can be summarized into two basic points; first, any apparent differences between West European feudal practices, on the

one hand, and the exploitation of *miri* lands in early Ottoman society, on the other, are only superficial; second, the state, as the theoretical owner of the *miri* lands, should not be regarded as an abstract entity but as an instrument of the upper classes for the promotion of their interests⁴. These views are certainly open to question, especially the former which considers the *timar* to be a form of landownership. Because, as Suraiya Faroqhi has put it, the *timar*-holders were neither landowners nor masters of serfs; however, one should not conclude that they were mere tax collectors⁵.

The sort of relationship between the *timar*-holder (*sipahi*) and the productive population (*reaya*), who settled the area of his territorial assignment, was defined by a number of regulations. Among the duties of the *timar*-holders was to inform the tax-surveying authorities which of the settlers were to be registered in the *defter*, still they were forbidden to include those who were under-age⁶. They were also responsible for keeping order and entitled to execute all penal decrees of the *kadis* that concerned residents of their land-assignment⁷. In most cases the *sipahi* had to reside within the area of the *timar* or close enough in order to be able to administer it. For this reason the *reaya* had to perform some corvées, such as building a barn for storing the *sipahi*'s tithes and carrying the tithes to the store or to the market⁸.

Obviously enough, the *timar*-holders were not just entitled to collect taxes but were supposed to get involved in matters concerning the everyday life of the settlers, especially in the economic sphere⁹. No doubt, they were an instrument of the administration representing several aspects of state authority. It is true that there were no personal ties of dependence between the *timar*-holder and the *reaya*. Equally, the former did not have any juridical duties or authorities over the latter. Finally, permanent possession or inheritability of the *timar* were never to be taken for granted. But, in practice, the powers concentrated on the person of the *timar*-holders *vis-à-vis* the

peasants they were assigned and the nature of their economic relations with them were characteristic of most other pre-industrial agrarian societies. In this sense, it would not be inappropriate to regard them as the "lords" of the settlements they were allocated.

Before moving into examining the several forms of fiscal arrangements and proprietorship that were present in 15th-century Southeast Macedonia, it is the appropriate moment to give an overview of the political situation in this region, as well as the position it occupied in the administrative framework of the early Ottoman Balkans.

As shown earlier, the area under examination was under a direct Ottoman rule since 1384-85. The re-establishment of Byzantine authority in some areas of Macedonia after 1403 did not affect any of the territories studied here. During the period known as the *interregnum* (*fetret devri*), Southeastern Macedonia shared the fate of most other Ottoman Balkan lands. As it is well known, before Mehmed I (1413-21) reunified the European and Asian territories of the Ottoman state, the Ottoman dominions in the Balkans were first ruled by Süleyman Çelebi (1402-11), then by Musa Çelebi (1411-13)¹⁰.

There are very few references to the region in question during the first fifty years of the 15th century and these concern mostly the city of Serres. It was there that Mehmed I mustered an army in late autumn 1416 with the intention of attacking Thessalonica, where the Byzantine authorities had provided refuge to the pretender to the throne Düzme Mustafa. There came the news of the uprising of *Seyh* Bedreddin in Dobroudja. Soon sultanic troops crushed the revolt and captured Bedreddin who was brought to Serres and executed. Then followed a short siege of Thessalonica¹¹.

The lack of information continues for most of the period of Murad II's reign. Fighting might have possibly involved the coastal areas of Southeast Macedonia during the war against the Venetians of Thessalonica. At least it is known that a Venetian

seaborne attack was launched in 1425 against the fortress of Christoupolis (Kavala), which resulted in its capture, though the Venetians were not able to hold it for any length of time. Serres and the other cities of the region must have also been used as bases for the Ottoman army during the final campaign against Thessalonica in 1430¹². What is certain is that Serres held a prominent position among the Ottoman Balkan cities during that time. A significant development that underlines the importance of Serres is the establishment there of a royal mint. Coins were reportedly struck for the first time in Serres in 1431, then in each regular minting every ten years¹³.

As far as the administrative position of the region in question is concerned there is some confusion. The study of the provincial framework of the early Ottoman Balkans has not yet received any special attention. Furthermore, very little has been written about the position of Eastern Macedonia within this framework¹⁴. What is of concern here is to clarify in which province (*sancak*) this region belonged. The first step to be taken in dealing with this issue is to define the geographic extent of the *defters* of this region, for it is known that those registers were drawn up on a territorial and administrative basis¹⁵. In the earliest extant *defter*, TTD-3, are listed the districts of Drama, Nevrokob (Goce Delčev), Zichna, Keşişlik, Serres, Kaladendra, Kaloyan, Ostrovo and Demirhisar (Sidêrokastron). In the TTD-7 we find the districts of Yeniçe-Karasu, Drama, Kavala, Nevrokob, Zichna, Keşişlik, Serres, Kaladendra, Ostrovo, Demirhisar, Sidrekapsi, Avrathisar and Selânîk (Thessalonica). Both *defters* are fragments, so their full territorial coverage cannot be determined, but what can be regarded as certain is that all districts recorded in any of these registers were part of the same province in the 15th century.

There are two opinions with respect to the *sancak* where these areas were supposed to belong. The first has been asserted by Sokoloski and Stojanovski who believed them to be part of the *Paşa sancak* (or *liva-i paşa*) of Edirne¹⁶, which was

governed by the *Beylerbey* of Rumelia himself. The second is advocated by Beldiceanu who suggested that these areas made up a separate province. To suggest that this region constituted a part of the *Paşa sancak* is a reasonable thought. It belonged indeed to the *Paşa sancak* in the 16th century¹⁷, but this is not evident for the preceding period, for there are no direct references from any source. Sokoloski and Stojanovski, however, have rather based their opinion on speculation and believed that the 15th-century administrative position of Macedonia should have been the same as in the next century.

However, the existing evidence from the 16th century in conjunction with indirect evidence from the register TTD-7 suggests that this region was included in the *Paşa sancak* during the 15th century already. In fact, several *timar*-holders of Southeastern Macedonia, of those recorded in 1478/79, had their allocation patents signed by the *Beylerbeys* of Rumelia, Mahmud Paşa, Hass Murad Paşa and Süleyman Paşa. Bearing in mind that the *Beylerbeys* of Rumelia were at the same time governors of the *Paşa sancak*, we can presume that the area under examination was definitely incorporated into that province during the 15th century as well.

Beldiceanu supported a different theory. Based on the descriptions of Jacopo de Promontorio for 1475, he suggested that the "*Capitanato Vardarii*", described by the latter to be under the command of some member of the Evrenos family¹⁸, was a separate *sancak* which encompassed the region of Southeastern Macedonia as well¹⁹. Nevertheless, this opinion cannot be regarded as a sound one. What Jacopo's testimony really implies is the preservation, still in 1475, of the *uç* of Evrenos. This is indicated not only by the mention of the descendants of Evrenos as administrators, but also by the very name of the province, which relates to the town of Yeniçe-Vardar, place of residence of the Evrenos family and centre of the *uç*. There is no evidence, however, which could support Beldiceanu's assumption that the "*Capitanato Vardarii*" made up a distinct

sancak. The problem is solved after realizing the actual nature and function of the *uç* in the Early Ottoman system of provincial administration, especially in the 15th century.

Although Mutaščieva believed the *uç* to have ceased to exist in the 15th century²⁰, there are several references in the sources showing the opposite. In the chronicle of Oruç there is mention twice of the march-lords, namely Ishak Bey, Turahan Bey and Evrenosoğlu Ali Bey, with respect to events of 1433 and 1438²¹. Ishak Bey, the commander of the "Serbian march" (*Laz uçu*)²², was based in Skopje and his activities were directed mainly against the Serbian lands²³. Turahan Bey was associated with Thessaly and most of his action took place in Southern Greece and Albania²⁴. The Macedonian *uç* of Evrenos was centred at Yeniçe-Vardar²⁵ and its commander, Ali Bey, fought mostly in Albania²⁶; furthermore, he must have carried out most of the operations against the Venetians of Thessalonica between 1423 and 1430. He was present in the siege of 1430 and the Ottoman chronicles describe him as experienced with the defensive qualities of Thessalonica and as having given valuable advice to Sultan Murad II on how to overcome them²⁷.

What had become of those marches later on in the 15th century is in general terms known. Ishak Bey was succeeded in the command of the "Serbian *uç*" by his son Isa who, after the final conquest of Serbia, in 1459, became active in Bosnia. The son of Turahan, Umur Bey, was in 1454/55 *sancakbey* in Tirhala (Trikala in Thessaly)²⁸ and, later on, he was given the temporary command of the latest Ottoman annexations in Southern Greece and the Morea, since 1458 and 1460, until the establishment of separate *sancaks* there. The later history of the *uç* of Evrenos in Macedonia is the least well known. It is only known that Ali Bey was succeeded by his brother Ahmed during the second half of the 15th century²⁹. Presuming from Jacopo's testimony that the *uç* was still in existence in about 1475, it must have been the longest lived one. Trouble in Albania,

as a result of Scanderbeg's revolt and the Venetian presence at Shkodër, must have been the obvious reason for its long preservation³⁰.

Nevertheless, the *uç* should not be seen as an administrative institution of an equal status and similar function to the *sancak*. The former was actually a military arrangement concerning the irregular forces of provinces laying close to the border and took shape as a reflection of the political aspirations of the warlords who had pioneered the conquest of the Balkan peninsula, and who, themselves and their offsprings, were in opposition to the centralizing policies of the dynastic bureaucracy. The political power of this tribal nobility was gradually fading and, by the later years of Murad II's reign, had for the most part disappeared. Consequently, the authority of the *uç-beys* was confined to maintaining their own personal domains (*mülk*) and to holding the military command of the irregulars in their area of jurisdiction. The administration of the *miri* lands and the command of the standing army of the *sipahis* were responsibility of the provincial authorities, notably the *Beylerbey* (*mir-i mîran*), the *sancakbey* (*mir-liva*) and their subordinates, even in areas supposed to be part of an *uç*. This is aptly demonstrated, as early as in 1393, in the document of Esphigmenou monastery concerning the domain of Akapniou and the *timar* of Laskaris in the village of Achinos. It is revealed there that after the surrender of Thessalonica in 1387 the Grand Vizier Hayreddin Çandarli had decided to return half of the village of Achinos, previously a *timar*, to the monastery of Akapniou as freehold property³¹. Although the area is known to have been included in the *uç* of Evrenos, there is nowhere, throughout the case, any mention to the latter, or to any representative of his, participating in the affair. Equally, there are documents drawn up by the ecclesiastical council of Serres, with regard to local affairs, in which there is mention of the *subaşı* of the city, taking part in the meeting, but not of a representative of Evrenos³². Consequently, after having made clear the essential differences between the

uç and the *sancak*, and having pointed out the possibility for both forms to co-exist in the same territory, especially after the frontier-zones were integrated into the Ottoman bureaucratic system of provincial administration in the 15th century, we can reasonably discredit the view that the "*Capitanato Vardarii*" was a *sancak* on its own.

The *sancaks* were divided into smaller territorial units, designated, according to the 15th-century terminology, as *vilayets*, each one usually established around a major city or town. As revealed by the *defters* of the 15th century, in each of those districts were present some typical representatives of the early Ottoman provincial administration, like the *subaşı*, the *kadı* and the *serasker*. In territorial and institutional respects, the 15th-century *vilayets* corresponded to the provincial unit later described as *kaza*. The first record of the term *kaza*, replacing that of *vilayet*, is found in the register TTD-70 of 1519 with regard to Zichna. The present study is concerned with the three *vilayets* of Southeastern Macedonia, i.e. those of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik, in accordance with the data provided by the two registers, TTD-3 (859 H. - 1454/55) and TTD-7 (883 H. - 1478/79).

An examination of the different forms of fiscal arrangements and proprietorship will elucidate several aspects of the administrative structures of the region in that period of time. All such forms are present in the registers and can be cited as follows: *has*-domains, *timars*, *mülks*, *vakıfs*, and sultanic estates (*padişah hasları*).

ii. The sultanic domains (*padişah hasları*)

The sultanic privy purse, which was maintained as a reserve fund connected with the Ottoman central treasury, had several revenue sources at its disposal in order to meet the financial needs of the court, the maintenance of diplomatic missions and the allowances for the janissaries. Part of those revenues were derived through subject

taxation, the *cizye* and all other *haraç* levies were normally reserved for the Sultan. The latter was also entitled to the income raised from other highly profitable sources , for example mines and custom dues. Finally, several lands and properties were directly at the disposal of the Sultan, these are the sultanic domains (*padişah hasları*).

In contrast to other fiscal categories, such as the *timar*, *mülk* and *vakıf*, the sultanic domain has not been the subject of a thorough study in modern scholarship. Vera Mutařchieva dedicated a few lines to sultanic property by stating that "the forms of land ownership and exploitation were unequivocal [sic] and not subject to general juridical requirements", she decided not to deal with that subject because of lack of "accessible material" for the 15th and 16th centuries³³.

Gökbilgin has paid brief attention to the sultanic domains by providing the total numbers of cities or towns, villages, *mezra'a* and *çiftlik*s at the disposal of the Sultan in the *Paşa sancak* of Rumelia during the first half of the 16th century, with the revenues they provided. Based mainly on the TTD-167 of 1530/31, he gave a total of 15 cities (*şehir*)³⁴, 4 small towns (*kasaba*), 355 villages, 18 *mezra'a*, 24 *çiftlik*, all providing an income of 13,864,436 *aspers*. With the addition of 10,454,995 *aspers* derived from the *cizye*, the total sultanic revenue from the *Paşa sancak* of Rumelia amounted to 24,319,431 *aspers*³⁵.

The most detailed study concerning sultanic estates was written more than fifty years ago by Barkan. Still, his main subject was not this category of landownership itself, but the status and working conditions of the slave labour, the *ortakçi* sharecroppers, who were settled in the depopulated region outside Constantinople, after the conquest, in order to work on the land which was declared a sultanic *has*³⁶.

This is the condition of modern scholarship concerning the sultanic domains. Fortunately, lands of this category are encountered among the other types of large scale

possession in 15th-century Southeastern Macedonia. Consequently, the present examination of them can offer some contribution to the study of the sultanic domain in general.

A sultanic *has* could either be established on the ground, and include lands and settlements, or be constituted by the whole or part of other specific fiscal revenues, e.g. those derived from commercial taxation in cities or from other profitable activities. In every case, the collection of sultanic revenue was achieved through tax-farming and those who undertook it (*'amil*) were also responsible for the management of the respective estates throughout the period of their contract. Therefore, the sultanic domains of different regions were not under the same administration.

Sultanic lands had existed in both the *vilayets* of Serres and Zichna during the period of Mehmed II's reign. The domains of Zichna are recorded in both the TTD-3 and TTD-7. Those of Serres can only be found in the TTD-7, the reason of their absence in the previous register is the administrative status they were given. The lands and revenues reserved for the Sultan from the district of Serres were listed with the sultanic *has* of Yenice-i Karasu (the district east of the river Nestos in Thrace). Consequently, they are recorded in the *defter's* section which concerns the *vilayet* of Yenice-i Karasu and not the one of Serres. This section survives in the TTD-7 but is missing in the TTD-3. Some of the villages listed in the TTD-7 among the sultanic domains of Yenice-i Karasu are marked as *tabi-i Siroz*, a proof of their actual location in the vicinity of Serres³⁷. In the same section of TTD-7 there is also reference to a share of the main market taxes (*Kist-i bazar* and *baç*) of the city of Serres reserved for the Sultan as well³⁸.

A description of the sultanic domains and an analysis of their financial structure and exploitation has to begin with those in the district of Zichna, the only ones which are present in both of the registrations. In 1454/55, they were under the stewardship of an

'*amil* called Kasim, son of Yusuf Ganim³⁹, and were established on the territory of four villages: Graçani, Palihor (a corruption of the Greek toponym Palaiochôrion), Potamo and Begler. The total figure of the dependent population was 266 fiscal units of *reaya* who payed altogether 17367 *aspers*. A further 40 *aspers* were raised from some walnut trees in the village of Graçani which were declared a *hassa*. After adding them to the amount of tax payed by the peasants, the total recorded revenue of the domain becomes 17407 *aspers*. That sum, less administrative costs, was collected by the '*amil* on behalf of the Sultan. The text of the *defter* does not contain any reference to what portion could be retained by the '*amil* or how much was the clear profit of the Sultan. Nevertheless, the aforementioned peasants were not the only settlers in the sultanic domain. In three of the villages, Graçani, Palihor and Begler, were also living shepherds (*çoban*), who were allocated a number of sheep (*ganem*), owned by the Sultan, in return for a rent⁴⁰. The number of shepherd households is given as 39 and the sheep they held as 1810.

The number of peasants and the amount of tax they payed, as well as the number of shepherds and sheep, for each separate village had as follows⁴¹:

- 1) Graçani: *hassa* (walnuts) - 40 *aspers*, 68 *reaya* units - 4435 *aspers*, 13 shepherds - 89 sheep
 - 2) Palihor: 142 *reaya* units - 7910 *aspers*, 18 shepherds - 1246 sheep
 - 3) Potamo: 9 *reaya* units - 2516 *aspers*, no shepherds
 - 4) Begler: 47 *reaya* units - 2546 *aspers*, 8 shepherds - 475 sheep
- Total: *hassa* (walnuts) - 40 *aspers*, 266 *reaya* units - 17367 *aspers*, 39 shepherds - 1810 sheep

In 1478/79 the situation had not met with any significant changes. The sultanic domain continued to consist of the villages of Graçani, Palihor and Potamo, but Begler was no longer among them. It was replaced by another village, Koyun Otasi, which lay in the district of Yenice-i Karasu⁴². The '*amil* had also changed; by then, the *has* was under the stewardship of two persons with the names Ahi Kôr ("Ahi the blind") and Bazarlu⁴³.

The *hassa* walnut trees at the village of Graçani counted for 25 *aspers* in kind (5 *kile* of product), a revenue reduced by 15 *aspers* compared with 24 years earlier⁴⁴. At the same time, a total of 307 *reaya* units payed 19223 *aspers*, but this revenue was divided into two portions. One portion of 14934 *aspers*, which was increased to 14959 *aspers* with the addition of the 25 *aspers* of *hassa* revenue, was shared between the Sultan and the *'amils*; the second portion of 4289 *aspers*, which corresponded to the amount of the *ispence* raised from the village of Palihor, belonged exclusively to the Sultan⁴⁵. There is also record of 12 shepherds, registered in the villages of Palihor and Graçani, who had custodial care of 1048 sheep in return for a payment of 1095 *aspers*. The sheep were allocated either to a single shepherd, or to a pair of shepherds to keep them jointly. The number of sheep held by one or two shepherds ranged from 77 to 210 and they paid a fee of between 0.71 to 2.15 *aspers* per sheep (average 1.04 *aspers* per sheep) for the herds in their care⁴⁶. Nevertheless, it is not attested in the *defter* whether the *amils* had any right of share on the sum payed by the shepherds or whether it was exclusively reserved for the Sultan. The details of each separate village for 1478/79 are as follows:

- 1) Palihor: 186 *reaya* units - 8145 *aspers*, *ispence* - 4289 *aspers*, 6 shepherds - 512 sheep - 484 *aspers*
 - 2) Koyun Otasi: 68 *reaya* units - 2122 *aspers*, no shepherds
 - 3) Graçani: *hassa* (walnuts) - 25 *aspers*, 48 *reaya* units - 2737 *aspers*, 6 shepherds - 536 sheep - 611 *aspers*
 - 4) Potamo: 5 *reaya* units - 1930 *aspers*, no shepherds
- Total: *hassa* (walnuts) - 25 *aspers*, 307 *reaya* units - 14934 *aspers*, Palihor *ispence* - 4289 *aspers*, 12 shepherds - 1048 sheep - 1095 *aspers*.

The total amount of revenue generated in 1478/79 within the sultanic domain of Zichna was 20343 *aspers*, including *hassa* revenue, peasant tax and shepherd rents. The total figure for 24 years earlier was 17407 *aspers*, but cannot be used as a proper comparison because it does not include the amount collected from the shepherds.

In contrast to the sultanic domains in the district of Zichna, which can be found in both of the *defters*, for those in the district of Serres the TTD-7 is a unique 15th-century source. The sultanic domains in Serres consisted of three villages, Marmori, Branduli and Nehtayor (?), where 115 *reaya* units contributed a total of 32007 *aspers*⁴⁷. The Sultan also received a share of 60000 *aspers* from the market taxes collected from the town of Serres (*kist-i bazar* and *baç*)⁴⁸, while the rest of the amount generated from the same taxes was assigned to the person who held the city as *has*, i.e. the *Kilâr-başı* Sinan Bey in that particular year.

Another development concerned with the year 1478/79 is the expansion of the sultanic domain in the district of Keşişlik as well. By then, the village of Ancista (Aggista), one of the largest in the region, was declared a sultanic *has*. That village, which was previously a *timar*, contributed to the sultanic income the sum of 29174 *aspers* in the form of peasant taxes received from 137 *reaya* units registered there⁴⁹. In fact, that single village generated a higher revenue for the Sultan than all of the four villages of his domain in the district of Zichna.

After having described all the sultanic domains within the region under examination, we can add up their total revenue to the sum of 141524 *aspers* for 1478/79 (including the Sultan's share from the market taxation of Serres). That was the highest fiscal revenue of a single recipient in Southeastern Macedonia, much more than what was earned in the same year by the *Kilâr-başı* Sinan Bey and the Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa from their local domains, which incorporated the towns of Serres and Zichna respectively.

Other sultanic domains for which available information exists are those in Western and Northern Macedonia listed in the TTD-4 of 1467/68. These included 21 villages in the districts of Edessa, Florina, Bitola, Veleš and Gevgelija⁵⁰. The income they

provided was supplemented by the entire sum of the tax on sheep-pasturage from the *vilayet* of Prespa and amounted to a total of 152914 *aspers*, a revenue quite higher than that generated by the sultanic domains of Southeastern Macedonia in 1478/79. Comparing the sultanic domains in these two different regions, we can observe that the sultanic villages in Northern and Western Macedonia were more numerous, but, in their majority, smaller and less productive than those in Southeastern Macedonia. The higher sultanic revenue in the former districts was primarily due to the addition of the pasturage taxes of the Prespa district, the considerable amount of 90000 *aspers*⁵¹. This fact underlines that importance of sheep-grazing to the economy of the mountainous region of Western Macedonia, while in Southeastern Macedonia pastoral economy had a less important, if not marginal, role to play.

Another interesting point we have come across is the existence of sultanic domains only within the area of the *Paşa Sancak* of Rumelia, at least in the 15th century. As far as can be revealed by the available documentation, there are no records of any sultanic *has* in regions like Albania, Thessaly or the Morea. It would be out of the scope of the present study to discuss on this issue further. We can only suggest that it was preferable for the palace to establish such domains on lands conquered during the early years of Ottoman expansion or on lands situated close to the capital (for instance those of the *Paşa Sancak*), in order to ensure more effective control and maintenance. In a similar way, most of the sultanic domains in Anatolia were concentrated in the region of Bithynia (*Hüdavendigâr sancağı*).

As far as one is concerned with the status and working conditions of the peasantry in sultanic lands, the domains of Southeastern Macedonia, especially those in the district of Zichna, can serve as a good example for defining the forms of relationship between peasant and lord (in these cases the lord was officially the Sultan, but practically

the *'amil*, i.e. the man who undertook the collection of sultanic revenue and the management of the estate).

In the sultanic villages of Zichna and Southeast Macedonia in general, as well as in other areas, e.g. the sultanic domains in Western and Northern Macedonia, the situation was exactly the same as in the *mirî* lands. Any *hassa* property was maintained by the *'amil*, the rest of the lands, animals and other productive units were held directly by the peasants. The owner of the land was the Sultan but peasant tenures were held for life and were, also, bequethable, provided that the peasants fulfilled their fiscal obligations. The peasants were liable to normal subject taxation, including the field tax (*ispençe*).

When one compares the status of peasants in the sultanic domains of Southeastern Macedonia with the situation of those in the outskirts of Istanbul, the difference is striking. Whereas the sultanic domains in Southeastern Macedonia were settled by mainstream *reaya* population, those outside Istanbul were settled partially by *reaya* and partially by slave-labour, the *ortakçi* sharecroppers. The latter were slaves owned by the Sultan, mainly prisoners of war, who cultivated parcels of sultanic land, using animals and seed allocated to them, and were then compelled to return half of their harvest⁵².

Nevertheless, the forms present in the sultanic domains of Istanbul were the exception, not the norm. Slave-labour was employed there because the area had become devastated and depopulated during the recent warfare (1453), and that was the only way to revitalize it quickly. On the contrary, in an area like Southeastern Macedonia, which had been conquered and incorporated in the Ottoman state many years previously, there was no need to employ slaves for exploiting the sultanic domains. It was enough to establish them in existing villages which were previously *mirî* lands. This is demonstrated

by the example of Ancista. That village had become a sultanic *has* by 1478/79, when just 24 years earlier it appeared as a *timar*.

The example of Ancista demonstrates also an expansion of the sultanic domains in the course of the 15th century already. With the beginning of the next century, the expansion of sultanic domains became more rapid and extensive. In 1519, the sultanic domains of Zichna comprised eight villages, compared with four in the previous century, while those in the district of Serres had even incorporated the town itself in its entirety as well as a considerable number of villages⁵³.

iii. The *has*-domains (*ümera hasları*)

Also described by Barkan as *ümera hasları*⁵⁴, i.e. the *has* of the *emirs* (the high ranked functionaries of the state), the *has*-domains were allocations of fiscal revenue, essentially similar to the *timar*, but much larger in financial amounts and territorial proportions. The territorial units included in such an assignment comprised a major city or town, as well as a number of villages, with revenues enough to provide the grantee with a large annual income. In the 15th-century context, the *has*-domains are also described as *zeamet*⁵⁵, a term which later obtained a more concrete meaning and signified large *timars* with a revenue higher than 20,000 *aspers*⁵⁶.

In each of the three *vilayets*, of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik, there was a *has*-domain which is recorded in both TTD-3 and TTD-7. In 1454/55, these domains were assigned to the respective *subaşı* of each district. The *has* of Serres comprised the city itself, eight villages and part (*hisse*) of one more village⁵⁷. The man who held the post of *subaşı* in Serres, in that year, was Doğan Kürtçü⁵⁸, a well known personality. Formerly a commander of the janissaries (*yeniçeriler agası*), he had fallen into Mehmed II's disfavour and was dismissed from his previous office in 1451⁵⁹. The position of *subaşı* was obviously inferior compared to the one he had held before. Still, his new

appointment was accompanied by a financial allocation which provided him with an annual income of 95986 *aspers*, of which 60818 *aspers* were levied from the city itself⁶⁰, the remaining 35168 were derived from the villages included in his domain⁶¹. 74322 *aspers*, out of the total, were received in cash, while 21664 *aspers* were the monetary value of tithes on agricultural products (mainly cereals) submitted in kind.

The *has*-domains of Zichna were smaller in territorial and financial proportions. They consisted of the town itself, plus one village whose name is recorded in the TTD-3 as Podgoryani and in the TTD-7 as Goryani⁶². The grantee of this domain was in 1454/55 the *subaşı* of Zichna, a certain Bayezid Bey son of Aydın Bey⁶³. He received a revenue of 36126 *aspers*, made up of 28092 *aspers* raised from the town of Zichna, 3034 *aspers* from the village of Podgoryani, and the remaining 5000 *aspers* from the *niyabet* charge derived from both the town and the village⁶⁴; 21814 *aspers* were cash commutations while the remaining 14312 *aspers* were levied in kind.

In the case of the Keşişlik district, where there was no major urban settlement, the *has*-domain was made up of the allocation of fiscal revenues from some of the district's villages⁶⁵. As in Serres and Zichna, holder the of the *has* and grantee of the assigned revenues was in 1454/55 the *subaşı* of the region, a certain Ali son of Bedreddin⁶⁶. He received the sum of 18645 *aspers*, 10665 in cash and 7980 in kind, that was extracted from four villages: Potolinos (6170), Isfamino (3423), Kuçi (4209), Krusava (3243), with the addition of 1600 *aspers* from the *niyabet* of the peasants which is listed in total sum for all of the four villages⁶⁷.

The post of *subaşı* was usually associated with an urban setting; therefore, the presence of a *subaşı* in the *vilayet* of Keşişlik, where there was no major city or town, is an exception to this norm. Such cases were known to Beldiceanu who distinguishes between *subaşı*s based in towns and those based in rural areas⁶⁸. In the early Ottoman

provincial setting, the *subaşı* was an officer, subordinate to the *sancakbey*, who was used as the governor of subdivisions within a province which were usually centred around a city or town⁶⁹, though exceptions, as in the case of Keşişlik, were not unknown.

The *subaşı*'s role was military as well as civic. His military authority was concentrated on the supervision of the *sipahis* within his area of jurisdiction, particularly, checking how consistent they were in carrying out their commitments. There is enough evidence to expose a *subaşı*'s involvement in military affairs in a *defter* of the regions of Avrathisar and Thessalonica dating from the 1440's. The original text of that register is full of posterior notes concerning the transfer of *timars* upon the recommendation of Ali Şamlı, the *subaşı* of Thessalonica. Some reasons for a *timar* to be transferred were the death, capture or desertion in battle of the previous holder⁷⁰. The civilian authorities of a *subaşı* were concerned with maintaining law and order as well as the supervision of commercial activity with a special reference to ensuring obedience to the regulations with regard to commercial transactions⁷¹. Nonetheless, the *subaşı* did not have any judicial rights or authority; these were exclusively reserved for the *kadı*⁷².

The absence of an actual town in the *vilayet* of Keşişlik led Prof. Heath Lowry to look for the administrative centre of the province in one of the district's villages. Consequently, he speculated that the administrative centre was in the village of Izdravik (the Byzantine Zdrabiki) which was the largest settlement in the region⁷³. Nevertheless, such a suggestion cannot be accepted for two reasons. First, the *vilayet* of Keşişlik did not necessarily need to have a "capital". It was enough for its *subaşı* to perform his duties while based in any of the nearby towns of Serres or Zichna. Second, even if the *vilayet* of Keşişlik had an actual administrative centre, this is unlikely to have been located at the village of Izdravik (Sdrabikion), as Lowry suggested, but in one of the settlements included in the *subaşı*'s actual assignment, where he must have maintained

some place of residence and other facilities necessary for the maintenance of his grant. In this case, the most appropriate place to look for the administrative centre of the district has to be the village of Potolinos, the largest and most wealthy of the settlements included in his domain.

All *subaşı*s did not have the same rate of revenue in the mid-15th century. Each one's earnings depended on the area they were appointed to because the *has*-domain of a particular region differed considerably in territorial and financial size from similar domains in other regions.

In the context of Southeastern Macedonia, the pay of the *subaşı* of Serres who held the biggest domain (95986 *aspers*) was much higher than those of the *subaşı*s of Zichna (36126 *aspers*) and Keşişlik (18645 *aspers*).

In the following table there is a comparison between the income of the three *subaşı*s of Southeastern Maceconia in 1454/55 and those of the *subaşı*s of other Balkan areas in the 15th century. For reasons of a higher reliability in the comparison, the recorded amounts of *asper* have been converted into their equivalent in Venetian *ducat* according to the exchange rates established for each given period⁷⁴:

| <u>has</u> | <u>asper</u> | <u>ducat</u> | <u>reference</u> |
|------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| Serres | 95986 | 2399.6 | TTD-3, 156-82 |
| Zichna | 36126 | 903.1 | TTD-3, 422, 432, 433 |
| Keşişlik | 18645 | 728.5 | TTD-3, 332-37 |
| (1454/55) | | | |
| Sopot | 20013 | 555.9 | Inalcik, <i>Arvanid</i> , 27-28 |
| Klisura | 22635 | 628.7 | Inalcik, <i>Arvanid</i> ,30-31 |
| Kanina | 46208 | 1283.5 | Inalcik, <i>Arvanid</i> ,33-34 |
| Belgrad | 50762 | 1410 | Inalcik, <i>Arvanid</i> ,55-56 |

| | | | |
|------------|--------|--------|---|
| Iskarapar | 33644 | 934.5 | Inalcik, <i>Arvanid</i> ,78-79 |
| Çartalos | 41978 | 1166 | Inalcik, <i>Arvanid</i> ,97 |
| Akçahisar | 26441 | 734.4 | Inalcik, <i>Arvanid</i> ,102-103 |
| (1430/31) | | | |
| Köprülü | 42820 | 1070.5 | Sokoloski, <i>Dokumenti II</i> , 34 |
| Kesriye | 112874 | 2821.8 | Sokoloski, <i>Dokumenti II</i> , 80 |
| (c. 1445) | | | |
| Köprülü | 65344 | 1519.6 | Sokoloski, <i>Dokumenti I</i> , 144 |
| (1467/68) | | | |
| Beznik | 45970 | 1094.5 | Beldiceanu, <i>Morée: SOF</i> 39 (1980), 22 |
| Kalavarta | 37170 | 885 | Beldiceanu, <i>Morée</i> , 22 |
| Balyabadra | 50150 | 1194 | Beldiceanu, <i>Morée</i> , 22 |
| (1470) | | | |

This comparison makes clear that the *has*-domain of Serres was the most prosperous compared with those cited, apart from the one of Kastoria (Kesriye). In 1454/55 Serres was a more populous town than Kastoria had been ten years previously, but there are some possible reasons why the latter provided a higher amount of fiscal revenues. First, a large proportion of the households registered in Serres in 1454/55, 23.6 % of the total, belonged to widows, therefore they were less productive. The percentage of widow-households in Kastoria in c. 1445 was only 12.09 %. Second, Kastoria is characterized by an extensive and highly productive practice of viticulture, which would have involved a significant number of the city's inhabitants, and provided the *has*-holder of the town with a sum high enough to counterbalance the difference with Serres where all other dues were higher than those in Kastoria⁷⁵. Finally, in the case of Serres, some of the fiscal revenues allocated to the *has*-holder were only partially assigned to him. As is evidently cited in the text of the TTD-3, the *has*-holder was

receiving a fraction only of the main commercial tax, the *kist-i bazar*, instead of the whole sum that was raised⁷⁶. The rest must have been a sultan's revenue as was the case in 1478/79.

The *has*-domain of Zichna provided its holder with a relatively low income as was the case with the other *has* assignments that included towns of a moderate size and of no particular economic importance. Finally, the *has*-domain of Keşişlik provided an income smaller than in any other cited case. This is obvious when one considers its tiny territorial extent. The *has* of the *vilayet* of Keşişlik was practically nothing more than a large *timar*. Actually, there were five *timars* in the entire region studied here with an income higher than the one provided by the *has*-domain of Keşişlik⁷⁷.

According to the registers, the *subaşı*s did not have to participate themselves in campaign, but they were required to supply men and equipment in return for their pay. The *subaşı* of Serres had to maintain three heavy armoured knights (*geçim*)⁷⁸, twenty five armoured cavalymen (*cebelü*), two tents (*çadır*), one sunshade (*gönlük*) and two smaller tents (*tenketür*)⁷⁹, in exchange for the 95986 *aspers* he was receiving. One *geçim*, nine *cebelü*, one *çadır* and one *tenketür* were the necessary men and equipment which had to be supplied by the *subaşı* of Zichna in return for his 36126 *aspers*⁸⁰. Finally, the *subaşı* of Keşişlik had to maintain five *cebelü* and one *çadır* for his 18645 *aspers*⁸¹. Early Ottoman customary law stated that a *subaşı* had to supply one *geçim* for each fraction of 30000 *aspers* of his annual revenue⁸², which is confirmed by the evidence in TTD-3. As for the *cebelü*, the rate of equivalence between amount of revenue and each soldier supplied is 3865 *aspers* on average, ranging separately in each *vilayet* from 4014 *aspers* for Zichna, to 3839 *aspers* for Serres and 3729 *aspers* for Keşişlik.

Later on, when the second register of the region was compiled in the year 1478/79, the situation was quite different. The *has*-domain in each of the three *vilayets*

was no longer allocated to a *subaşı* but to a high court dignitary. In Serres, it was held by Sinan Bey who held in that year the post of *kılâr başı*, i.e. head butler in the palace⁸³. The *has*-holder of Zichna is recorded as "his excellency Mehmed Paşa"⁸⁴, therefore he can be no other than the contemporary Grand Vizier, Karamani Mehmed Paşa (1477-81), the last Grand Vizier in Mehmed II's reign, who was assassinated by the janissaries straight after the Sultan's death. In Keşişlik, the *has*-holder's name is also given as Mehmed Paşa, though without the label of *hazret*⁸⁵. Yet, this person too should be the Grand Vizier, as in Zichna.

The three *has*-domains appear in 1478/79 to have almost the same territorial proportions as they did twenty-four years earlier. The one in Serres comprised fiscal revenues derived from the city itself and from eleven villages. These were the same as in 1454/55, with the exception of Çeltukçi and with the addition of three new ones, Manastur (?), Kamenik and Rizinava. As for the *has*-domains of Zichna and Keşişlik, their territorial basis had remained exactly the same. Here follows a list of the fiscal revenues in each *has* in accordance to the territorial units of their provenance⁸⁶:

The *has*-domains of Serres

| | <u>1454/55</u> | <u>1478/79</u> |
|-------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Serres: | 60818 | 67039 (p. 237) |
| Brezničko: | 4201 | 4748 (pp. 239-40) |
| Petričko: | 1082 | 1710 (p. 240) |
| Dravaçista: | 593 | 3200 (p. 240) |
| Aya Nargir: | 1967 | 1575 (pp. 240-41) |
| Dervişani: | 3229 | 4190 (pp. 238-39) |
| Notişani: | 5511 | 9154 (p. 238) |
| Kalbaçista: | 11437 | 6180 (pp. 243-44) |

| | | |
|------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Elise: | 1194 | 5956 (pp. 244-45) |
| Çeltukçi: | 54 | - |
| Manastur: | - | 585 (p. 239) |
| Kamenik: | - | 300 (p. 241) |
| Rizinava: | - | 8490 (pp. 241-242) |
| <i>niyabet</i> : | 1100 | ? |
| total: | 95986 | 113127 |

The *has*-domains of Zichna

| | <u>1454/55</u> | <u>1478/79</u> |
|------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Zichna: | 28092 | 68962 (p. 121) |
| (Pod)goryani: | 3034 | 6638 (pp. 122-23) |
| <i>niyabet</i> : | 5000 | ? |
| total: | 36126 | 75600 |

The *has*-domains of Keşişlik

| | <u>1454/55</u> | <u>1478/79</u> |
|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Potolinos: | 6170 | 14165 (pp. 160-61) |
| Isfamino: | 3423 | 3469 (p.161) |
| Kuçi: | 4209 | 6032 (p.162) |
| Krusava: | 3243 | 4685 (pp. 162-63) |
| <i>niyabet</i> : | 1600 | 4800 (p. 163) |
| total: | 18645 | 33149 |

As can be seen from the table above, each of the *has*-domains in this region appears to have provided an increased income between the years 1454/55 and 1478/79. The percentage of increase, ranges from 17.85 % for the domain of Serres, to 77.80 %

for Keşişlik and to 109.27 % for Zichna. If we convert, however, these amounts to their equivalents in a more stable currency, for example the Venetian *ducat* or the golden *sultani*, i.e. Ottoman imitation of the former which was first produced in 1461, we have the following comparison:

| | 1454/55 (<i>ducat</i>) | 1478/79 (<i>ducat</i> or <i>sultani</i>) |
|-----------|--------------------------|--|
| Serres: | 2399.6 | 2486.3 |
| Zichna: | 903.1 | 1661.5 |
| Keşişlik: | 466.1 | 728.5 |

After completing our comparison of *has* revenues, by taking into consideration the equivalence of *asper* amount to gold currency, it can be seen that the percentage of real increase is quite different in each *has*-domain. In the case of Serres, the *has*-revenues were actually increased by 3.61 %; in the cases of Zichna and Keşişlik the real increase was 83.97 % and 56.29% respectively. Still, the *has*-domain of Serres continued to be the largest and most wealthy among those of Southeastern Macedonia. The recorded figures of income given for the three *has*-domains of Southeastern Macedonia in 1478/79 adequately indicate their financial wealth and demonstrate the significant increase in revenue for those of Zichna and Keşişlik as well.

The allocation of those three domains to high court dignitaries resulted in the absence of *subaşı*s of whom there is no record in the TTD-7 for any of the three *vilayets* studied here. The consequent question is who would perform in such a case those duties which were normally associated with the *subaşı* of a region. There is some evidence suggesting that a *has*-holder other than a *subaşı*, who could not maintain his *has*-grant himself, had to appoint a representative, known as *emin* or *kethüda*⁸⁷, in order to stand in for him. Such an example is known in Thessaly, where Turahan Bey, first *uçbey* then *sancakbey*, had appointed a *kethüda* in the city of Trikala, one of his *has*-domains, for

dealing with all necessary matters⁸⁸. There is also a record of an *emin* for the *has*-domain of Thessalonica in the year 1487/88⁸⁹. These representatives of the holder were probably responsible for carrying out the *subaşı*'s duties, in both the town and the province, in places where the *subaşı*'s post was vacant.

The collection of revenues, associated with such a large fiscal allocation as the *has*, was achieved through farming them out to individuals. A surviving contract of tax-farming for the revenues of the *has*-domain of Serres, from 1473/74 (878 H.), concerns two Jewish individuals, namely Yakub ben Israil and Yahuda ben Solomon, who had undertaken to collect the sum of 515000 *aspers* on behalf of the holder, an amount which corresponded to the triannual revenue of the *has*⁹⁰. After dividing this sum by three, one can calculate the annual revenue of the *has* to be 171666 *aspers* in each of those years. This figure is much higher than the amount recorded in the TTD-7 for 1478/79 (113127). One should not expect, however, that the revenues generated by the *has* had been reduced in 1478/79, compared to the amounts recorded in the tax-farming contract of 1473/74. The most probable explanation for this considerable difference between the amounts given in the tax-farming contract and those recorded in TTD-7 is that the figures from the contract are inclusive of the extra cash which the contractors had the right to collect for their own profit. There was no reason to register the contractor's profit in a *tahrir-defter* and this explains the lower figure given in the TTD-7.

With the examination of the *has*-domains completed, there are two features of their development between 1454/55 and 1478/79 which deserve further comment. First, the considerable increase in revenue that was derived from those in Zichna and Keşişlik; second, their reassignment from *subaşı*s to court dignitaries.

The second point can be related to the process of centralization in the early Ottoman state. Removing *has*-grants from *subaşı*s, who were to some extent elements of local power, and allocating them to men of the palace, as the *kılâr-başı* Sinan Bey, or to central authorities, as the Grand Vizier, can be interpreted as a step towards a further centralization. As a result, the financial size of the grants would have to be re-adjusted. A possible explanation of the significantly increased yield of the *has*-domains in Zichna and Keşişlik, in 1478/79, is the need to provide the Grand Vizier with an income appropriate to his rank. Another explanation can be that of military necessities, for a higher revenue meant more soldiers supplied by the grantee.

Notes

¹Here we borrow Halil Inalcik's apt definition of the formative and flourishing era of the Ottoman Empire (15th and 16th centuries).

²The most probable compilation date of the TTD-3 is the year 859 H. (1454/55). cf. M. Ursinus, *Reconsideration: SOF*, 45 (1986), 25-36. The next register for this region, the TTD-7, was compiled in 883 H. (1478/79).

³Early Ottoman legislation contains several instances of how a peasant was not supposed to leave his work and settlement. cf. Inalcik, *Ottoman Empire*, 111.

⁴Mutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations*, vi, 1, 3, 6-7.

⁵Faroghi, *Rural Society II*, 125-26.

⁶Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr and N. Beldiceanu, "Règlement ottoman concernant le recensement", *SOF*, 37 (1978), 20.

⁷Inalcik, *Ottoman Empire*, 111. *idem.*, *Economy and Society*, 114.

⁸Inalcik, *Ottoman Empire*, 111-12.

⁹Bearing in mind that most of the *sipahis* were soldiers, who would have to be away from the area of the *timar* during the campaigning time, there is no doubt that their duties towards the population of their land-assignment were mostly carried out by representatives.

¹⁰Inalcik, *Ottoman Empire*, 17-18. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 56-75.

¹¹Neşri, II, 45-47. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 82, 87.

¹²Aşıkpaşazade, 106. Neşri, II, 610. Sp. Vryonis, "The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430" in Bryer and Lowry, *Continuity and Change*, 311.

¹³Babinger, *Conqueror*, 10, 456.

¹⁴There are only two articles devoted to this subject; one by T. Gökbilgin, "Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli Eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları", *Belleten*, 20 (1956), 247-94; the other by A. Stojanovski, "Administrativno-teritorijalna podelja na Makedonija pod osmanliskata vlast do krajot na XVII vek", *Glasnik*, 17/2 (1973), 129-45 (hereafter Stojanovski, *Podelja*).

¹⁵Bistra Cvetkova, "Les Tahrir-Defterleri comme source pour l' histoire de la Bulgarie et des pays balkaniques", *Rev.Ét.Sud-est.Eur.*, 16/1 (1978), 102.

¹⁶A. Stojanovski, *Podelja: Glasnik*, 17/2 (1973), 133-34. M. Sokoloski, "Serskiot vilaet vo XV vek", *Glasnik*, 18/3 (1974), 107. Stojanovski, *Dokumenti IV*, 10, 26.

¹⁷As confirmed by a quote in a document of 1519 from the archives of Dionysiou monastery: "*nahiye-i Kalameriye der liva-i paşa*" Zachariadou, *Dionysiou: SOF*, 30 (1971), n. 14, p. 19. Kalameriye - Kalamaria in Greek- is a suburb of Thessalonica. In the TTD-70 (1519) there is also a quote: "*nahiye-i Keşişlik der liva-i paşa*", TTD-70, 59.

¹⁸Fr. Babinger, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio - de Campis über den Osmanenstaat um 1475*, Munich 1957, 52.

¹⁹"Elle devait composer le sancak connu dans la relation de Jacopo de Promontorio sous le nom de "Capitanato Vardarii" dirigé par un représentant de la famille d' Evrenos", Beldiceanu, *Margarid: REB*, 33 (1975), 230. Also: N. Beldiceanu and P. Năsturel, *Les églises: JÖB*, 27 (1978), 271.

²⁰Mutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations*, 10.

²¹Oruç's information is cited in Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 115, 117.

²²Neşri, II, 606.

²³Neşri, II, 618. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 118.

²⁴Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 115, 148, 162.

²⁵Neşri, II, 556, 566.

²⁶Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 114.

²⁷Aşıkpaşazade, 106. Neşri, II, 610.

²⁸Beldiceanu and Năsturel, *La Thessalie: Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 122.

²⁹M. Kiel, "Yeniçe Vardar (Vardar Yeniçesi - Giannitsa) A forgotten Turkish Cultural Centre in Macedonia of the 15th and 16th century", *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica*, 3 (1971), 305.

³⁰Ahmed Evrenosoğlu was reportedly active in operations against the Venetians of Shkodër in 1478. cf. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 239, 241.

³¹Act. Esph., n. 30, p. 175.

³²Act. Esph., n. 28, p. 167. Act. Chil., n. 158, p. 336.

³³Mutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations*, xii.

³⁴Including the city of Serres which is listed as sultanic *has* already in 1519. cf. TTD-70, 5.

³⁵Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 72-73.

³⁶Ö.L. Barkan, "Les formes de l' organisation du travail agricole dans l' Empire Ottoman", *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l' Université d' Istanbul*, 1 (1944), 1-31, 2 (1945), 1-16, 3 (1946), 1-25.

³⁷TTD-7, 19-21.

³⁸TTD-7, 22.

³⁹"Hasha-i padişah ki der uhde-i Kasim veled-i Yusuf Ganim [dir]". TTD-3, 460.

⁴⁰"Cobânlar kim sultânımız'un koyunu güderler". TTD-3, 461.

⁴¹TTD-3, 460-67.

⁴²"Kariye-i Koyun Otasi tabi-i Yenice-i karasu". TTD-7, 155.

⁴³TTD-7, 153.

⁴⁴TTD-7, 156.

⁴⁵This situation is explained by the scribe as follows: "*ama mezkur ispençe beğlikdir, hasilde bile masun değildir*". TTD-7, 154.

⁴⁶TTD-7, 155, 157.

⁴⁷Marmori: 28 *reaya* units paying 14941 *aspers*; Branduli: 5 *reaya* units paying 4040 *aspers*; Nehtayor (?): 82 *reaya* units paying 13026 *aspers*. TTD-7, 19-22.

⁴⁸TTD-7, 22.

⁴⁹TTD-7, 214-16.

⁵⁰TTD-4, 450b-462b, in Sokoloski, *Dokumenti I*, 565-75.

⁵¹TTD-4, 457a, in Sokoloski, *Dokumenti I*, 570.

⁵²Ö.L. Barkan, "Les formes de l' organisation de travail agricole dans l' empire ottoman", *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l' Université d' Istanbul*, 1 (1944), 1-31, 2 (1945), 1-16, 3 (1946), 1-25.

⁵³TTD-70, 3, 5.

⁵⁴Barkan, *Timar: İA*, 12/1 (1974), 288.

⁵⁵TTD-7, 114-23, 160-63, 220-45. Sokoloski, *Dokumenti I*, 27.

⁵⁶Barkan, *Timar: İA*, 12/1 (1974), 288.

⁵⁷TTD-3, 156-82.

⁵⁸TTD-3, 156.

⁵⁹Babinger, *Conqueror*, 71.

⁶⁰TTD-3, 156, 173.

⁶¹Broken up with respect to each village as follows (all references to pages of the TTD-3): Brezničko: 4201 (p. 174); Petričko: 1082 (pp. 174-75); Dravačista (*hisse*): 593 (p. 175); Dervisani: 3229 (p.176); Notisani: 5511, plus 4000 *aspers* from rizicultures in the vicinity of the village (pp.176-78); Aya Nargir: 1967 (pp.178-79); Kalbačista: 11437 (pp.179-81); Elise: 1994 (pp.181-82); Čeltukçi: 54 (p.182); plus 1100 *aspers* from the *niyabet* of the peasants which is given in total number for all the villages (TTD-3, 156).

⁶²TTD-3, 432. TTD-7, 122.

⁶³TTD-3, 422.

⁶⁴TTD-3, 422, 432, 433.

⁶⁵TTD-3, 332-37.

⁶⁶"*has-i subaşı-i Kesislik der tasarruf-i Ali veled-i Bedr-ad-dîn*", TTD-3, 332.

⁶⁷TTD-3, 332. In Stojanovski's translation the amount of *niyabet* is erroneously given as 1000 *akçe*. Stojanovski, *Dokumenti IV*, 285. All of those four villages are known from the Byzantine period (Potholinos, Esphagmenou, Koutzi, Krousobo).

⁶⁸Beldiceanu, *Ville*, 96-97.

⁶⁹Inalcik, *Ottoman Empire*, 117 .

⁷⁰Turski Izvori II, 408-409, 422-23.

⁷¹Beldiceanu, *Ville*, 103-106.

⁷²Inalcik, *Ottoman Empire*, 117-18 .

⁷³H. Lowry, *Keşişlik*, 20-21.

⁷⁴For converting the amounts of *asper* into their *ducat* equivalents we follow the exchange rates given in: Sevkett Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914" in H. Inalcik and D. Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914*, Cambridge 1994, App. I, 954. These are 1:41 (1454/55), 1:45 (1478/79).

⁷⁵For Serres in 1454/55: TTD-3, 156-73. For Kastoria in c. 1445: Sokoloski, *Dokumenti II*, 71-77.

⁷⁶"*an kist-i bazar 15000 akça*" TTD-3, 156.

⁷⁷TTD-3, 197-202, 219-25, 345-50, 359-65, 400-404.

⁷⁸For *geçim*: N. Beldiceanu and Christane Villain-Gandossi, "Geçim: un armure pour homme et cheval", *Turcica*, 12 (1980), 169-73.

⁷⁹TTD-3, 156.

⁸⁰TTD-3, 422.

⁸¹TTD-3, 332. The *çadir* is not mentioned in Stojanovski's translation. Stojanovski, *Dokumenti IV*, 285.

⁸²Beldiceanu and Villain-Gandossi, *loc.cit.*, 169.

⁸³TTD-7, 220. Also: N. Beldiceanu and P. Năsturel, *Les églises : JÖB*, 27 (1978), 271.

⁸⁴"*hazret Mehmed Paşa dama ikbalahu*", TTD-7, 114.

⁸⁵TTD-7, 160.

⁸⁶All amounts are in *asper*, and all references for figures of 1478/79 are to pages of the TTD-7.

⁸⁷Both words mean in a broad sense a person keeping some administrative position.

⁸⁸Beldiceanu and Năsturel, *La Thessalie: Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 122. *idem.*, "Timariotes chrétiens en Thessalie (1454/55)" *SOF*, 44 (1985), 76.

⁸⁹M. Ursinus, *Reconsideration: SOF*, 45 (1986), 31.

⁹⁰Beldiceanu, *Ville*, 108.

Chapter 5. The *timar*

There is no doubt that the most usual and widespread form of a fiscal assessment in the 15th century was the *timar*. That was especially true for Southeastern Macedonia where the vast majority of rural settlements were incorporated in *timars*. The *timar* was a grant of fiscal revenues to one or more individuals used as a method of providing pay or pension to those involved in the military as well as in the administration and, generally, to persons who carried out some services for the state or for the dynasty. In some cases, the grantee was an influential figure who received the *timar* as a personal gift without being required to reciprocate any visible service (Mara Branković or the monks of Prodromos were such examples).

It is well-known that a *timar* did not necessarily need to have some concrete territorial base, instead it could be made up of one or more taxes of a different provenance¹. This is not the case, however, with those presently examined. All the *timars* of the region studied here were associated with a rural setting and all had some concrete territorial dimension confined to one or more villages, parts of villages (*hisse*) or *mezraa*. This means that to every *timar*-holder were assigned a number of peasants who were to regard him as their landlord and submit taxes to him. When a settlement was broken up between two or more *timars*, i.e. when different shares of a village (*hisse*) were divided between *timars*, some of its peasants were assigned to one landlord some to another. There were even *timars* which included no whole village at all but only shares (*hisse*) of different ones.

The *timar*-holders were allocated those taxes which, according to Islamic principles, were labelled as the 'öşr category, i.e. tithes on agricultural production, as well as the customary taxes that had existed in the region before the Ottoman conquest. They had also the right to extract levies from other sources of revenue located in the area of their land assignment, e.g. from the exploitation of mills and fisheries, from mining, from fairs (*panayir*),

and from tolls (*geçüd*). The *haraç*, however, which was the second category of religious tax, was reserved for the central treasury, as was the extra-ordinary taxes (*avariz-i divaniye*).

The overall number of *timars* in the three *vilayets* of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik, in 1454/55, was 96; 48 of them are registered in the district of Serres, 18 in the district of Zichna and 30 in the district of Keşişlik. Twenty-four years later, one can count 97 *timars*, 49 in the district of Serres, 16 in the district of Zichna and 32 in the district of Keşişlik. Apparently, the total number of *timars* remained almost the same during the twenty-four years between the two registrations.

The total amount of revenue raised by the *timar*-holders of this region was 684487 *aspers* in 1454/55, and had risen to 983885 *aspers* twenty-four years later². The mean rate of *timar* income was 7130 *aspers* in 1454/55 and 10143.1 *aspers* in 1478/79 for the whole region, while it can be calculated for each different *vilayet* to 6401.4 *aspers* in Serres, 5056.1 *aspers* in Zichna, 9540.2 *aspers* in Keşişlik in 1454/55, and to 10150.3 *aspers* in Serres, 8919.5 *aspers* in Zichna, 10743.8 *aspers* in Keşişlik in 1478/79.

The total number of *timars* in the entire region can be divided as follows, according to the amount of income they provided³:

| <u>amount in <i>aspers</i></u> | <u>1454/55 (96 <i>timars</i>)</u> | <u>1478/79 (97 <i>timars</i>)</u> |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| less than 1000 | 2 | 2 |
| 1000-3000 | 12 | 5 |
| 3000-6000 | 41 | 22 |
| 6000-10000 | 21 | 36 |
| 10000-15000 | 11 | 16 |
| 15000-20000 | 5 | 8 |
| more than 20000 | 4 | 8 |

According to both registrations, most of the region's *timars* were of a moderate size with incomes between 3000 and 6000 *aspers* or between 6000 and 10000 *aspers*. The difference is that, while in 1454/55 *timars* with revenues between 3000 and 6000 *aspers* were the largest group, twenty-four years later the majority of *timars* can be found in the 6000-10000 *aspers* group. Apparently, *timars* with a low or very low income, i.e. those with less than 1000 *aspers* or between 1000 and 3000 *aspers*, were few in this region and had diminished considerably by 1478/79 (only 14.58 % of the whole in 1454/55 and 7.21 % in 1478/79). *Timars* with a large revenue, between 10000 and 20000 *aspers*, or enormously large, exceeding 20000 *aspers*, were less numerous, yet they appear to have significantly increased in 1478/79 (there was, for instance, an 100 % increase in the number of very wealthy *timars* with income higher than 20000 *aspers*).

Timars with a small revenue (less than 3000 *aspers*), or very small (less than 1000 *aspers*), were more common elsewhere. According to the calculations of Barkan, who has counted an overall number of 11202 *timars* (excluding the *zeamet*) in the *beylerbeylik* of Rumelia for the year 1534 (H. 940), there were 4534 *timars* with a small revenue below 3000 *aspers*, a 39.2 % of the whole⁴. That percentage of small *timars* is much higher than the ones for the area of the present study in either of the registers (14.58 % and 7.21 % respectively). Furthermore, it is necessary to take into account the continuous devaluation of the *asper* throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, a fact which makes the rarity of low-income *timars* in 15th-century Southeastern Macedonia even more significant. Evidently, the distribution of low-income *timars* in this region was a marginal phenomenon in the 15th century.

In 1454/55 as well as in 1478/79, there were only two *timars* with a very low income of less than 1000 *aspers*. The one with the lowest income was held in 1454/55 by two Christian brothers, Nikola and Kostandin; their assignment lay in the *vilayet* of Serres and

consisted of the village of Gradista which provided an income of 506 *aspers*⁵. The one with the second lowest income was held by a certain *korucu* Ismail who received a revenue of 915 *aspers* from his assignment on a part of the village of Lako in the district of Serres⁶. Twenty-four years later, the first to hold such a small *timar* was a certain Şahini *bazdar*, a former falconer (*çakirci*), who received the annual sum of 886 *aspers* from the village of Prilepuniça in the district of Serres⁷. The second was a certain Hızır, son of Turahan, whose *timar* in the *vilayet* of Keşişlik provided him 850 *aspers*⁸.

In 1454/55, the most high yielding *timars* of this region were three and were located in the *vilayet* of Keşişlik. The first provided its holder, Yeğen Bey, a sum of 37446 *aspers*⁹. The second was held by Mustafa Osman and provided him 23119 *aspers*¹⁰. The third was held by a Muslim called Turgud, son of Hasan Bey, and a Serb, Yorgi Čelnik from Novo Brdo, and provided them with 22968 *aspers*¹¹. In 1478/79, the two most wealthy *timars* of this region exceeded the limit of 40000 *aspers* and can be both found in the *vilayet* of Serres. The first consisted of the village of Trliç (the Trilision of the Byzantine period), a particularly rich centre of mining, and provided its holder, Davud Bey the *beyleymbey* of Rumelia, with the annual sum of 43265 *aspers*¹². The second was held by the *serasker* of the district of Serres and consisted of the villages of Kato Ivrendi (Katô Brontou), Murtad and parts of Kravasmun (Krabasmountos) and Dranova; it provided its holder with the sum of 41856 *aspers*¹³. Behind them comes another *timar*, in the district of Serres as well, which consisted of the villages of Vernar (the Byzantine Bernarous) and Korlukava and provided its three holders, Kemal Bey, Mahmud Bey and Ishak Bey, with the sum of 38022 *aspers*¹⁴.

The income of *timar*-holders is basically distinguished between what they received from peasant taxation and the output of some assets known as *hassa* that were under their direct possession and control. In the area of the present study the *hassa* assets included mills,

fisheries, orchard gardens and vineyards, it seems, therefore, that fields were not involved in the these cases. Moreover, a *timar*-holder's revenue from his right to charge fairs, harbouring facilities and ferrying stations is also registered as a *hassa*. As a matter of fact, the output of *hassa* assets was of a minor importance compared to the income deriving from peasant taxation. According to the evidence of TTD-3 and TTD-7 for the presently studied region, one or more *hassa* assets were present in 61 out of 96 *timars* in 1454/55 and only in 46 out of 97 *timars* in 1478/79. In those *timars* which included some *hassa*, the revenue deriving from the latter amounted to a minor share of 36419 *aspers* out of a whole revenue of 442849 in 1454/55 and 29156 out of 438743 *aspers* in 1478/79, in percentage 8.22 % and 6.64 % respectively¹⁵. Most of the *hassa* assets contributed modest amounts of revenue to the *timar*-holders with one notable exception in the case of fisheries which often yielded considerable amounts of cash exceeding 1000 *aspers*¹⁶.

A *timar* was not necessarily held by only one person, examples of *timars* held by more than one were common in Southeastern Macedonia during the 15th century. In 1454/55, nine *timars* were held by two people (six in the *vilayet* of Serres, two in the *vilayet* of Zichna, one in the *vilayet* of Keşişlik), two were held by three (both in the *vilayet* of Serres). Four of the *timars* with two holders and one of those with three were held by brothers¹⁷. In other *timars*, assigned to more than one, the holders could be of a different background. There was, for instance, a *timar* held simultaneously by a Muslim, Turgud son of Hasan Bey, and a Christian Serb, Yorgi Čelnik from Novo Brdo¹⁸. Equally, another *timar* was held by a *kuloğlu*, i.e. the son of a *kul* of a non-Muslim background, namely Inebeği, as well as by a Muslim from Germiyan, Germiyanlı Mahmud¹⁹.

In most cases where *timars* had more than one holder, they were held jointly (*müsterek tasarruf*) and the grantees would have to make equal shares of the revenue. In those cases, the

timar-holders had also to bear their military service in rounds. There is only one *timar*, held by three, which provided different revenues to each one of the holders²⁰. The holders of that *timar*, as well as those of two more (the first held by three the second by two people), had their military obligations recorded separately, and all had to participate in campaign at the same time with each of them supplying his own military retinue²¹.

One of the *timars* in the district of Serres was held by eight people, all of them Muslims, who came from Koca-eli and are described a *hisar erenleri* ("men of the fortress") for they were members of fortress garrisons in the land of their origin²². As *timar*-holders in Southeastern Macedonia, they received the sum of 8278 *aspers* and their duty was two of them to participate in campaign, the one designated as *bürüme* and one as *cebelü*, the rest to guard the forest²³. There was, finally, a *timar* which was actually assigned not to an individual but to an institution. That was the *timar* of the Prodromos monastery (*manastir-i Margarid*). Although it was registered in the name of the monks²⁴, the beneficiary was, in reality, the monastery as a body instead of particular individuals²⁵.

Timars with more than one holder are also recorded in the TTD-7. Eleven of them had two holders (six in the *vilayet* of Serres, three in the *vilayet* of Zichna, and two in the *vilayet* of Keşişlik), two had three holders and one had four, all in the *vilayet* of Serres. Among those *timars* there is only one, held by three people, with separate records of each one's share of the revenue²⁶. Therefore, it has to be presumed that the rest were held jointly (*müsterek tasarruf*).

For a more comprehensive idea of how *timar* income was distributed, it would not be inappropriate to categorize all individual *timar*-holders according to what they earned by taking into account each one's share of the revenue in *timars* held by more than one person. This can be shown as follows:

| <u>amount in <i>aspers</i></u> | <u>1454/55 (114 <i>timar</i>-holders)</u> | <u>1478/79 (114 <i>timar</i>-holders)</u> |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| less than 1000 | 3 | 2 |
| 1000-3000 | 30 | 12 |
| 3000-6000 | 40 | 32 |
| 6000-10000 | 23 | 35 |
| 10000-15000 | 11 | 21 |
| 15000-20000 | 5 | 7 |
| more than 20000 | 2 | 5 |

Very few were those who earned too much or too little. Yet, the income of the average *timar*-holder had increased by 1478/79, with the majority earning more than 6000 *aspers* and a significant number among them earning more than 10000 *aspers*.

A big part of the region's *timars* appears in both registrations to have the same territorial proportions, i.e. they appear in 1478/79 to consist of exactly the same villages, or parts of villages, or *mezraa*, as they did in 1454/55. These *timars* which had a firm territorial basis were actually 48, half of all *timars* recorded in 1454/55. Among them were those *timars* which were assigned to the holders of a particular post, such as the *serasker* of each *vilayet*, or the *kadis* of Serres and Zichna, or the *emir-i ahor*, irrespective of who was the particular person to hold the post²⁷.

The first extant *defter* of this region, the TTD-3, contains a lot of important information concerning each *timar* and its holder. One can find there which Sultan had allocated the *timar* to its currently registered holder and, for some of them, who was the previous holder. The patent of allocation held by each *timar*-holder was usually a *berat* or, rarely, a *hükm-i hümayun*²⁸. Whenever the patent was issued by Mehmed II, by then in the fourth year of his second reign, it is quoted as: "*elinde* (or *ellerinde* if there was more than one

holder) *sultanımız berat vardır*"; and, if the patent had been issued by his predecessor, "*elinde (ellerinde) merhum Hundgyar berat vardır*" (or "*elinde Sultan Murad berat vardır*"). Forty-seven of the *timars* registered in 1454/55 were allocated by the contemporary Sultan Mehmed II, while 16 had been assigned to their current holders by the previous Sultan Murad II. There were, in addition, 8 *timars* whose holders had held them since Murad II's time but had had their possession of them re-affirmed by receiving new patents by Mehmed II²⁹. For the rest of the *timars* there is no specific reference to the time when they were issued to those who held them in 1454/55.

For 25 *timars* out of the total number of 96 (26.04 %) there is a record of the previous holder. In nine of them the previous holder was the father of the contemporarily registered in 1454/55³⁰. Furthermore, there is mention of some *timars* which were transmitted from father to son for two generations, having been originally held by the grand-father of whomever was in their possession in 1454/55³¹. Similar examples are also recorded in a *defter* of the district of Kastoria, which is dated in the mid-forties of the 15th century³², as well as in a *defter* of 1454/55 for Thessaly³³.

This evidence is significant enough to shed light on an important feature of early Ottoman society. In a broad sense, early Ottoman society can be divided into two basic strata, leaving aside the *ulema*. These are, on the one hand, the productive population of peasants and tax-paying city dwellers, and, on the other hand, the so-called *askeri* class who provided military and other services for the state and were paid out of tax revenues³⁴. In this so-called *askeri* class, which encompassed men, and occasionally women, of different backgrounds, creeds and legal status, are included all *timar*-holders irrespective of their different duties or economic standing. Offspring of members of the *askeri* class would normally enter the same class. This conception is of a crucial importance as far as one is concerned with the

inheritability of *timars*. In principle, a *timar* was not bequestable and the scions of a *timar*-holder were never guaranteed to receive one. Nevertheless, they had the legally confirmed right to apply for a *timar* and, as a matter of fact, they could easily receive it if they were considered fit. The evidence at our disposal is the best demonstration of how some scions of *timar*-holders were given exactly the same land assignment which their fathers, or even their grandfathers, had hold before them.

Unlike the previous *defter*, the TTD-7 does not contain a lot of additional information about the *timars* and their holders. There is no specific mention of the military obligations of each *sipahi*, no record of the previous holders of each *timar*, and only in some of them is there a record of the authority that had provided the patent of allocation to the contemporarily registered holders.

In contrast to the norms of 1454/55, when all patents were issued by the Sultan, either Murad II or Mehmed II, in 1478/79, several *timar*-holders had patents signed by the *beylerbey* of Rumelia instead. For nine of them the patent had been provided by the Sultan Mehmed II and it is usually described as a *firman-i humayun*³⁵. Eight *timar*-holders had their patents, *berat* in this case, signed by Mahmud Paşa (Grand Vizier and simultaneously *beylerbey* of Rumelia between 1455 and 1467)³⁶. Two other *timar*-holders had their patents, *berat* again, signed by Hass Murad Paşa (a scion of the Byzantine imperial family of the Palaiologoi, *beylerbey* between 1468 and 1473)³⁷. Six had their patents, signed by Süleyman Paşa, *beylerbey* between 1473 and 1477³⁸. There was, finally, one *timar* whose holders had patents by both the Sultan and the *beylerbey*³⁹.

Among the *timar*-holders of Southeastern Macedonia one can find some known or particularly interesting personalities. One of the *sipahis* registered in 1454/55, namely Doğan *seri-piyade* (an infantry officer), was in possession of a *timar*, in the district of Serres, which

had previously been hold by the Grand Vizier Çandarlı Halil Paşa. That *timar* included the villages of Menlikîç and Lako and provided a rather moderate income of 6919 *aspers*⁴⁰. It has to be one of the several *has*-domains and *timars* which Halil Paşa must have hold and, most likely, it was assigned to Doğan in 1453 after the Grand Vizier was executed.

Others of those recorded in the TTD-3 as past holders of *timars* were still present among the *sipahis* of this region in 1454/55, holding different *timars* than those they had in the past. A certain Ali, son of Osman, was in possession of a *timar*, consisting of the village of Istoya in the district of Serres, whose previous holder is noted as Dede Bali⁴¹. Dede Bali, however, who was son of the *emir-i sikar* Hamza Aga, was still listed among the contemporary *timar*-holders of the same region in 1454/55. He was then registered as being in possession of another *timar* consisting of the villages of Dragomirava and part of Dravaçista, in the district of Serres as well⁴².

Equally, the equerry (*rikabdar*) Hassan, a *gulam-i mir*, is mentioned in 1454/55 as the previous holder of a *timar*, consisting of the village of Goryani in the district of Serres, which was then held by Mahmud and Murad the sons of Ali Bey⁴³. Nevertheless, Hasan could still be found among the contemporary *timar*-holders in the same year, having been assigned another *timar*, in the district of Zichna this time, that consisted of the villages of Asomata and Kasri⁴⁴.

Another similar case was the one of Umur, son of Seygeldi, a *kuloğlu*, who held a *timar*, which included the village of Agligor (or Agrida) in the district of Zichna⁴⁵, yet he is recorded in the same *defter* as the previous holder of another *timar* in the same district, which consisted of the villages of Draçova, Agraçani and Gornicova and was currently held by Murad, son of Yarlu Şahin⁴⁶. It is interesting to note here that Yarlu Şahin had been in possession of that *timar* since Murad II's times⁴⁷, which means that the transfer of that *timar*

from Umur to him and the former's appointment to his new assignment must have occurred before 1451, the year of the definite accession of Mehmed II.

As for the value of the *timars* which these old holders had in the past, compared with those they held in 1454/55, one can observe different developments in each case. The *timars* held by Dede Bali and Umur in 1454/55 provided a lower income compared to those held by them in the past. Only Hasan *rikabdar* had by then a *timar* which was more profitable than his previous one.

In a similar manner, one can observe some of those who held *timars* in this region in 1454/55 to be present as *timar*-holders in 1478/79 as well, but not always in possession of the same territorial assignment. *Timar*-holders who are present in both registrations include Musa son of Şahin, Şirmerd Solak, Yusuf Solak, Hacı Hamza, the falconer Sinkür, Yusuf son of Mahmud, Murad son of Köse Musa, Asilhan son of Pulad. In fact, those eight persons accounted for 7% of the total number of *timar*-holders in 1454/55 (114 persons)⁴⁸. Two of them were in possession of exactly the same territorial assignments, whereas two others had kept the core area of their *timar* but the remainder had been altered. The remaining three, however, were in possession of *timars* in completely different locations compared to those they had held previously, not even in the same *vilayet*. For six of those *timar*-holders, their income appears to have increased between 1454/55 and 1478/79 at percentages ranging from 26.12% to even 318.57% in *asper*, or from 6.70% to 268.03% in gold currency (*ducat/sultani*)⁴⁹.

One of those *timar*-holders, Hacı Hamza, was promoted from the position of a mere *sipahi* of the district of Serres in 1454/55⁵⁰ to the rank of *serasker* for the district of Keşişlik⁵¹, presumably as a result of a vigorous performance in battle. In his case, the remarkable increase of his income (226.34% in *asper*, 186.82% in *ducat/sultani*) can be

explained by promotion in rank. The most obvious explanation for this dramatic rise in the income of some *timar*-holders, between the years 1454/55 and 1478/79, is that they had excelled in their execution of their duties. Nevertheless, two of the *timar*-holders present in both registrations had their income decreased by 1478/79 at percentages of 26.92% and 30.85% in *asper* or 35.82% and 39.20% in *ducat/sultani*. Since both of them were soldiers⁵², one can expect them to have lost much of their fighting qualities during the 24 years separating the two registrations and to have had their income reduced accordingly.

In the case of four other *timars*, those who held them in 1478/79 were the sons of those who had held them 24 years earlier, namely Mehmed son of Yamak Çavuş, Yusuf son of Şahin, Barak son of Zaganos *şahinci* and Behadir son of Şahin⁵³. Their assignments provided higher revenues in 1478/79 than they did in twenty-four years earlier, when they were held by their fathers. The number of *timars* that were transferred from father to son was significantly lower in 1478/79, 4 out of 97 (4.12%), compared to 9 out of 96 (9.37%) for 1454/55.

When studying the *timar* in the 15th-century Southeast Macedonian context, an important aspect to be dealt with is the identity the of *timar*-holders. First of all, some *timars* were reserved for the holders of particular offices irrespective of whom they were. Those *timars* do not appear to have had their territorial basis altered from one registration to another. One of these posts automatically accompanied by a *timar* was the one of *serasker*. The word meaning generally "head of the army", is used in this context as "*serasker-i sipahiyân*", i.e. the commander of the *timar*-holding soldiers in each *vilayet*⁵⁴. The *serasker* was in fact the commander of those soldiers who participated in campaign, whereas those who manned a garrison (the *mustahfizân*) had their own commander, the *dizdar*. The *serasker* of each *vilayet* had an exclusively military authority, therefore, his post was an inferior one compared to the *subaşı*'s who combined both military and civil responsibilities. The presence of a "*serasker-i*

sipahiyân" in almost every *vilayet* reveals the fact that all soldiers from the same district formed their own company instead of mixing with soldiers from elsewhere within the *sancak*. In their turn, those companies were joined into a regiment under the *sancakbey*'s command.

Only two of the *vilayets* studied here had a *serasker* in 1454/55, those of Serres and Keşişlik⁵⁵. The *vilayet* of Zichna appears to have had one appointed only in 1478/79⁵⁶. The *serasker* of Serres, having been a person called Cura in 1454/55 and another one called Hasan in 1478/79, had at his disposal a *timar* containing the villages of Kato Ivrendi, Kravasmun, Dranova and Murtad, which provided a revenue of 13303 *aspers* in 1454/55, raised to 41856 *aspers* in 1478/79⁵⁷. In 1454/55 the *serasker* of Keşişlik was a certain Ismail, while 24 years later the post was occupied by Hacı Hamza, son of Süleyman, who was a mere *timar*-holder of the district of Serres in 1454/55⁵⁸. The *timar* that was allocated to the *serasker* of Keşişlik appears in both registrations to consist of the villages of Iveros and Hotoliva; it provided the *serasker* with 6238 *aspers* in 1454/55 and 8869 *aspers* in 1478/79⁵⁹. The *serasker* of the district of Zichna appears for the first time in the registration of 1478/79 (a certain Mehmed) and was by then in possession of a *timar* consisting of the villages of Servanî, Tolos and Dranova⁶⁰ that provided him the sum of 7161 *aspers*⁶¹. The amount of revenue raised by the *timars* disposed at the *seraskers* was good enough in any case but it also depended on the number of soldiers they had under their command. As a matter of fact, the *serasker* of Serres, who controlled a district with numerous *timars* and consequently many soldiers, earned a much higher revenue compared to the *seraskers* of Keşişlik and Zichna.

Other *timars* permanently allocated to particular functionaries included those reserved for the *kadis* of Serres and Zichna. The practice of guaranteeing the *kadis* a salary by allocating them a *timar* was common everywhere within the early Ottoman realm. In this respect, the *kadis* were the only members of the *ulema* to be involved with *timar*-holding; the

rest of that caste made their living through the exploitation of *vakıf* properties. Interestingly, whenever there is record of a *timar* held by a *kadı* in the *defters*, the personal name of the *kadı* is never recorded on the contrary to the practice used with other officials.

The *kadı* of Serres is recorded in both registers as being in possession of a *timar* incorporating the villages of Keçi Tumba and Vulkovo (the latter in the district of Nevrokop). That *timar* provided him with a revenue of 5122 *aspers* in 1454/55 and 5681 *aspers* in 1478/79⁶². The *kadı* of Zichna received from the village of Rahova 3820 *aspers* in 1454/55 and 5652 *aspers* in 1478/79⁶³. As far as the *vilayet* of Keşişlik is concerned, even though there was a *subaşı* there in 1454/55, there is no record of a *kadı* for this region in any of the registrations. The reason for the absence of a *kadı* there may be that there was no urban centre in the district. The post of *kadı* was actually an urban institution with all of them based in towns, although their jurisdiction expanded to the neighbouring countryside. Consequently, all judicial necessities in the *vilayet* of keşişlik had to be a responsibility of the *kadıs* of Serres and Zichna.

Judging from the available evidence, one can assume that any *timars* held by *kadıs* were usually of a modest financial size. This was true not only for the *timars* allocated to the *kadıs* of Serres and Zichna, which provided them with 5122 and 3820 *aspers* respectively in 1454/55 or 5681 and 5652 *aspers* respectively in 1478/79, as already mentioned. There are several other examples that also provide evidence for this guessing. The *kadı* of Thessalonica raised a revenue of 3754 *aspers* from his *timar* in c. 1445⁶⁴. The *kadı* of Tirnovo was allocated a *timar* that provided him with 5270 *aspers* in the mid-15th century⁶⁵. The *kadı* of Lubeč received a remarkably low revenue of 1140 *aspers* in the same period⁶⁶. The income allotted to the *kadı* of kičevo was 6159 *aspers* in 1467/68⁶⁷. Only the *kadı* of Prilep was allocated a quite large revenue of 12880 *aspers* according to records of 1467/68⁶⁸.

Another *timar* in Southeastern Macedonia was permanently reserved for whomever held the post of *emir-ahor*, the sultanic equerry. In contrast to the *timars* allocated to the *serasker* of each *vilayet* or to the *kadıs* of Serres and Zichna, this one was allocated not to local officials but to a courtier. The *timar* consisted of the village of Zeylî in the district of Serres and is likely to have been first held by Mezid Bey, *emir-ahor* during the reign of Murad II, who was killed in operations against the Hungarians. In 1454/55 the *timar* is found in the possession of Mehmed Çelebi, Mezid Bey's son, *emir-ahor* as well⁶⁹. Twenty-four years later the *timar* was again in possession of the *emir-ahor*, but his name is not recorded in the TTD-7, so it is not clear whether Mehmed Çelebi was still holding the post by then or not. The *emir-ahor's* revenue from that *timar* was 5821 *aspers* in 1454/55 and had risen to 8644 *aspers* in 1478/79⁷⁰.

Apart from those *timars* which accompanied some particular office, several others were held by people with special duties and some, among them, by well-known personalities. Among the *timars* listed in the TTD-3 one was still assigned to Saruca Paşa, who had recently died and is described in the *defter* as deceased⁷¹. Saruca Paşa was formerly the *yaya-başı* (commander of the infantry) for Rumelia⁷², then *sancakbey*, *beylerbey* and, finally, Vizier. Apart from his *timar* in the district of Keşişlik, he was also in possession of a *mülk*-domain in the same district, one of his several possessions in different areas. That *timar* provided 2229 *aspers* in 1454/55⁷³, it was, therefore, a modest one and was only a supplement to the revenues raised from his other possessions.

Well-known personalities were present among the region's *timar*-holders in 1478/79 as well. One of them was Davud Bey, the *beylerbey* of Rumelia, who replaced Süleyman Paşa in 1476 and held the office until the autumn of 1479⁷⁴. His *timar*, consisting of the village of Trliç, was the most profitable in the region and provided him with 43265 *aspers*⁷⁵. Another

one was Mara Branković, known among the Turks as Despina Hatun. The influential widow of Murad II, who had settled in this region in 1457, is registered in the TTD-7 as being in possession of *mülk*-domains in the district of Serres, as well as holding a *timar* in the district of Keşişlik. Her *timar* comprised the village of Doksobino (Doxombous) and provided her with an annual revenue of 18517 *aspers*⁷⁶.

One of the *timars* listed in the TTD-3 was held by a provincial officer appointed elsewhere. This was a *timar* in the district of Zichna which was allocated to Mustafa Bey, the *subaşı* of Uskudar (Scutari, on the Asian side of the Bosphorus). The *subaşı* of Uskudar received from that *timar* the sum of 5325 *aspers*⁷⁷. Similarly, another *timar*, in the district of Zichna as well, was held by the son of a former *dizdar* (commander of the garrison) of Akçahisar in Albania⁷⁸.

Other army officers who held *timars* in this region were, first, a certain Doğan, *seri-piyade*, an infantry officer who received 6919 *aspers* from a *timar* of the district of Serres in 1454/55⁷⁹, second, Yusuf the *yaya-başı* (infantry commander) who held as a *timar* the village of Radilofo and received the sum of 15526 *aspers* in 1478/79⁸⁰. In the registration of 1478/79 there are records of some *silâhdar*, i.e. custodians in arms of the Sultan or other important personalities, among the *timar*-holders of the region. These totalled four and they all held *timars* that provided a high income ranging from 9847 to 19911 *aspers*⁸¹. There was also a *timar* held by the assistant of the *kazasker*, namely Yakub, which provided him with 16075 *aspers* in 1454/55⁸².

Apart from the *emir-ahor*, there is a record of another equerry, but of an inferior position, among the *timar*-holders in 1454/55. That was a person called Hasan and he is described as *rikabdar*. His *timar* lay in the district of Zichna and provided him with 10845 *aspers*⁸³.

Falconers were equally present among the *timar*-holders of this region. Being described as *doğancı*, *çakirci*, *şahinci* or *bazdar*, they are present in both registrations. There were five falconers in 1454/55⁸⁴, among them two chief-falconers described as *doğancı-başı* and *çakirci-başı* respectively⁸⁵. The number of falconers had fallen to two in 1478/79⁸⁶. One of them, the falconer Sünkür, son of the falconer Hamza, is present in both registrations having retained the same *timar* from 1454/55 to 1478/79⁸⁷. The two chief-falconers, Mustafa *dogancı-başı* and Süleyman Bey *çakirci-başı*, were both earning a large sum in 1454/55, 15131 and 19891 *aspers* respectively⁸⁸. The rest of the falconers received rather small or modest revenues, ranging from 886 to 7649 *aspers* in both of the registrations.

The last of the recorded *timar*-holders with special duties were the hound-keepers (*zagraci*). One is listed among the *timar*-holders in the district of Serres, in 1454/55 and had a revenue of 7783 *aspers*⁸⁹. Twenty-four years later, there is a record of another hound-keeper, in the district of Keşişlik this time, who held a *timar* that provided him with 9550 *aspers*⁹⁰.

The previously exposed information concerned the identity and duties of *timar*-holders on a personalised basis. More than that, a collective examination of them and their classification in accordance to social groups can be of an equal importance to the study of the *timar*, in this particular region as well as in a more generalized perspective. In general terms, all *timar*-holders, and not only them, are regarded as comprising the so-called *askeri* class, but they can be distinguished and classified to several other categories after their background and social identity. The so-called *askeri* class is conceived in consisting of *timar* and other benefice holders and, on the other hand, of that vast category of people of a servile status in direct sultanic service, the *gulams*, who were present in all Islamic empires. In forming a vast social group, the sultanic slaves (*gulam-i mir* is the common connotation of them in the sources at our disposal) varied a lot one from another in their standing and occupation, including from

Grand Viziers (such as Mahmud Paşa and Rum Mehmed Paşa in the period of our concern) to humble domestic servants, and their non-Muslim birth was the one feature they shared in common. The military branch of the *gulams* took shape in the corps of the janissaries, infantry equipped with technically novel weapons, such as firearms, and the *kapi-kulu* corps of cavalry. Those were a standing army of minute preparedness and instant use that received its salaries directly from the central treasury in contrast to the provincial cavalry of the *sipahis* who was maintained through the allocation of *timars*.

The majority of people involved in direct sultanic service, military or other, were *gulams* and one can expect them to be paid by the central treasury directly. However, an examination of the identities of *timar*-holders in the presently studied region demonstrates that many among them were *gulams*, thus the *timar* was a method of paying them as well. As a matter of fact, the *gulams* represent a considerable proportion of the *timar*-holders in Southeastern Macedonia numbering to 14 out of 114 in 1454/55 (12.28 %). Among them are included persons of a non-military identity but in sultanic service, such as falconers and hound-keepers, as well as some of the *sipahis* including the *seraskers* of the districts of Serres and Keşişlik. What can be deduced from those cases is that some numbers of *gulams* who were excessive for enlistment in the janissary and *kapi-kulu* corps were incorporated instead in the units of provincial cavalry and consequently received *timars* for their pay in a similar way to free-born provincial soldiers. This is especially demonstrated in the case of two *timar*-holders who apart from the normal mark of *gulam-i mir* are also described as *ulufeci* which points out to their previous career in a centrally salaried corps⁹¹.

More interestedly, in the pages of these two 15th centuries *defters* for Southeastern Macedonia, mainly in the TTD-3, there are records of another less known sub-division of the early Ottoman so-called *askeri* class. Those are a group of people who are normally described

in the *defters* as *kuloğlu* and appear to be sons of *gulams*. In 1454/55, persons who are themselves described as *kuloğlu* or who appear to have had a Muslim father described as *gulam-i mir*, represent a quite higher proportion of *timar*-holders than the *gulams* themselves, numbering 19 out of a total of 114 (16.66 %). The existence of those sons of *gulams* contradicts an old belief that the *gulams* could not get married. Moreover, the presence of *kuloğlus* among the region's *timar*-holders can be reasonably understood, for the *gulams* were officially regarded as slaves and their offspring, being Muslim by birth, could not acquire the same status and join some prestigious bodies such as the janissaries. Instead, they required for the inclusion of their scions in the military through the provincial *sipahi* cavalry and apparently succeeded.

References to *gulam-i mir* and *kuloğlu timar*-holders can be found in the TTD-7 as well, although there they are much fewer, two *gulams* and one *kuloğlu* out of 114 *timar*-holders again. These negligible numbers do not mean that the presence of *gulams* and *kuloğlus* had declined by 1478/79, for the scribes of TTD-7 generally abstain from providing information on the person of *timar*-holders. Therefore, several others among the region's *timar*-holders could have been *gulam* or *kuloğlu* in 1478/79 as well and this is simply not mentioned in the *defter*.

Since their conversion to Islam the *gulams* were regarded as having no origins and background but this was not the case with other Muslim *sipahis*. For some of them the *defters* provide their place of origin, so we are informed of some *sipahis* coming from Anatolia, one from Biga, the eight persons who held a *timar* in common and all came from Koca-Eli, and two coming from the region of Germiyan in 1454/55⁹², with one of them, Germiyanlu Mahmud, being also present 24 years later. More important is the presence among the region's *timar*-holders in 1454/55 of a person from Erzincan, a town which had not come under

Ottoman rule yet⁹³. This is enough evidence of how the expanding Ottoman state and army attracted people from beyond the frontiers of the realm who regarded a military service for the Ottomans as a promising career opportunity.

While some distinction can be made among the Muslims *timar*-holders in accordance to their identity in being *gulam*, and scion of a *gulam*, or freeborn of a proper Muslim background, and it is possible to trace the geographic origins of some, another very important aspect of distinction is the ethno-religious one among Muslims and Christians. The Christian *timar*-holders can be distinguished in their turn between important personalities, who had received the *timar* in an economically minded recognition of their standing or for important services they had offered to the Ottoman state, and mere *sipahi* soldiers. The overall proportion of Christians among the region's *timar* holders is small, five in 1454/55 (a 4.38 %) and two in 1478/79 (a 1.75 %) without taking into account the *timar* that was allocated to the monastery of Prodromos in 1454/55. Among those Christian *timar*-holders some important personalities are encountered in both registration. A Serbian called George (Yorgi) Čelnik from Novo Brdo held an especially profitable *timar* of 22968 *aspers* in 1454/55 together with a Muslim called Turgud son of Hasan Bey⁹⁴. Unfortunately no information could be crossed about the identity of that person and why he was received such a large revenue. Another Christian with a profitable *timar* appears by the name Voyvoda veled-i Dan and received 14684 *aspers* from his benefice in the district of Keşişlik in 1454/55⁹⁵. This name is not unfamiliar with the context of the period's events, since the voivode Dan (of the Daneşti ruling house of Wallachia) was in command of the Vlach allies of Hunyadi in the second battle of Kosovo (1448). By deserting the battlefield during the battle and surrendering to the Ottomans the voivode gave them the victory and, although his men are told to have been slain by the Turks in consequence of distrust, this evidence that arises from the TTD-3 suggests

that their leader was spared and furthermore rewarded for the important service he offered to the Ottomans. The *timar*-holder who is present in Keşişlik in 1454/55, seven years after the battle at Kosovo, must have been either the voivode Dan himself or a son of his. Then, since Mara Branković settled in the region, apart from the *mülk*-domains she obtained she was also given a *timar*, the village of Doxompous providing 18217 *aspers*, which is registered in her possession in 1478/79⁹⁶.

The other Christian *timar*-holders who appear in this region were not this kind of distinguished personalities, but simple soldiers with very modest incomes. Two brothers Nikola and Kostadin held jointly a *timar* that provided them the very small amount of 506 *aspers* and a certain Angelos son of Prapas held a *timar* of 1439 *aspers* in 1454/55, while 24 years later there is record of a certain Labrino with a *timar* of 3203 *aspers*⁹⁷.

Those cases of little earning Christian *sipahis*, with the exceptions of distinguished personalities as those encountered in this region, were not exceptional but the norm. Even though the idea of the Ottoman state and army as one established on the principal of the Muslim holy war, that was promoted by the Sultans, has been rightly criticised on the grounds of its being an ideological creation legitimizing the Ottoman hold of power over their Muslim subjects⁹⁸, it is not fully rejectable. In fact the Ottoman state needed all its subject and as a result Christians could find their way to the military. Nevertheless, the Ottoman army was primarily a Muslim one often fighting against other Christian powers in those cases the Christian soldiers would not be wholly trustful, which explains the small proportions and revenue of Christian soldiers.

The previously cited points include several occasions relating to the strong connection of the practice of *timar* with the early Ottoman military establishment. In fact, the *timar* was an originally and primarily military institution. The information that the *defters* provide for

Southeastern Macedonia in the second half of the 15th century conforms to this statement by illuminating the military character of most of the region's *timars* and also the structures of military organization in the provinces. The TTD-3 is an especially important source for these matters, as it contains records of every *timar*-holder's military obligations, something which is absent in the TTD-7. First of all, the evidence of the TTD-3 permits us to make a safe distinction between military and non-military *timars*. As one can expect, the vast majority of *timars* were military. There were only 11 *timars* out of 96 whose holders had no military obligations in 1454/55. With regard to the identity of *timar*-holders with no relation with the army, those include the *kadıs* of Serres and Zichna, the *emir-i ahor*, three falconers⁹⁹, the monks of Prodromos monastery, obviously the deceased Saruca Paşa, the *subaşı* of Üsküdar, the *korucu* Ismail, probably a jannisary out of active service or a person charged with rearing horses or camels for the army, and, finally, a certain Şahin son of Saruca¹⁰⁰. This information can help us to track down the non-military *timars* for 1478/79 as well, a matter on which the TTD-7 does not provide specific details. There are in that register six *timars* whose holders can be expected not to have had military obligations, those of the *kadıs* of Serres and Zichna, the *emir-i ahor*, two falconers and Mara Branković, the rest of the *timar*-holders can be presumed as military men.

Apart from having to participate in campaign himself (*kendi bürüme* or *kendi cebelü*), a *timar*-holder was obliged to supply in correspondence to his revenue one or more extra soldiers, pages and a tent, either a large (*çadır*) or a small one (*tenketür*). The extra soldiers that had to be supplied are designated as *cebelü*, a term meaning a horseman bearing a cuirass, and were professional soldiers who, like the *sipahis*, lived either in the towns of the region or within the area of the *timar*. The pages, who are described as *gulam* or *oğlan*, were probably recruited among the *reaya* of the *timar*. The rate of correspondence between amount of

revenue and the men and material that had to be supplied by the *timar*-holder can be established via the evidence of TTD-3 and had schematically as follows:

| revenue in <i>aspers</i> | <i>bürüme</i> | <i>cebelü</i> | pages | tent | small tent |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------|------|------------|
| 506-1695 | | himself | | | |
| 1418-2728 | | himself | 1 | | |
| 2752 | himself | 1 | | | 1 |
| 2936-5530 | himself | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| 5532-6887 | himself | 2 | | 1 | |
| 6920-7630 | himself | 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 8368-9504 | himself | 3 | | 1 | |
| 10304-11075 | himself | 3 | 1 | 1 | |
| 11483 | himself | 4 | | 1 | |
| 11484-14266 | himself | 4 | 1 | 1 | |
| 14584-15251 | himself | 5 | | | 1 |
| 16527-16995 | himself | 5 | 1 | 1 | |
| 16075 | himself | 6 | | 1 | |

All this evidence is concerned with the army of campaign which is the only military element that is involved in *timar*-holding in this particular area. In contrast to other regions, the presently studied territory is marked by a complete absence of *timars* allocated to a local garrison (the so-called *timar-i mustahfiz*). This does not mean that town garrisons were absent, it should become a reason of suspicion either. The absence of relevant *timars* can be reasonably explained by presuming the local garrisons to have been manned by janissaries who received their salaries from the central treasury directly.

The number of non-military *timars* was proportionately small in 1454/55 already. Its further reduction by 1478/79 can serve as a good example of Mehmed II's well known policies for the strengthening of the army, the same as the confiscation of *mülk* and *vakıf* villages and their allocating as *timars*¹⁰¹. The same goal was achieved by the significant increase of *timar* revenue which is observed in this region, from 684487 *aspers* in 1454/55 to 983885 *aspers* in 1478/79 an increase by 43.74 % in a course of 24 years (if we convert these figures to the more stable gold currency – *ducat* or *sultani* – we have the respective figures of 16694 versus 21864 which still represent an increase by 30.96 %) ¹⁰².

The previously cited points on the farther expansion of military *timar* holding after the mid-15th century, as well as the general situation about the *timar* in the presently studied region, demonstrate the centralistic views and policies of the early Ottoman government. In matters of political geography this region occupies an especially central position in the early Ottoman state, as it was one of its earlier annexed Balkan territories directly after Thrace and also an area of rich resources and located between the two main cities of the empire, Istanbul and Thessalonica. These circumstances made this territory an ideal ground for the sultanic government to expose its centralistic tendencies. This is why so many *timars* of this region were allocated to persons directly related to the court, such as *gulams* and *kuloğlus*, *silahdars*, the chief equerry (*emir-ahor*), falconers and hound-keepers, and close acquaintances of the Sultan such as Mara Branković. This is not observed in other more distant and peripheral areas, e.g. Albania in 1430/31 or Thessaly in 1454/55, where the *timars* appear to have been held by men of no particular importance or affiliation with the court and, at the same time, the percentage of Christian *timar*-holders was enough higher.

Notes

¹Faroghi, *Rural Society II*, 125-26.

²Broken up for each *vilayet* as follows: 307270 *aspers* for Serres, 91011 for Zichna, 286206 for Keşişlik in 1454/55; and 497369 *aspers* for Serres, 142713 for Zichna, 343803 for Keşişlik in 1478/79. See Table I.

³This classification of *timars* in relation to their output is basically based on Barkan's. cf. Barkan, *Timar: İA*, 12/1 (1974), 288-89. For each *timar*'s details, see Table I.

⁴Barkan, *Timar: İA*, 12/1, (1974), 288-89.

⁵"*Timar-i Nikola ve kardesi Kostandin*". TTD-3, 235-36.

⁶TTD-3, 255.

⁷"*Timar-i Şahini Bazdar kim çakirci imiş*". TTD-7, 317.

⁸TTD-7, 182-83.

⁹TTD-3, 359-65.

¹⁰TTD-3, 400-404.

¹¹"*Timar-i Turgud veled-i Hasan Beğ ve Yorgi Çelnik kim Nev Bedriyi['den] vardı*". TTD-3, 345-50.

¹²TTD-7, 272-75.

¹³TTD-7, 246-50.

¹⁴TTD-7, 255-60.

¹⁵For details concerning the *hassa* in each *timar*, see Table I.

¹⁶The fishery at the village of Doxompous yielded 5500 *aspers* in 1454/55 and 7000 *aspers* in 1478/79. TTD-3, 362. TTD-7, 192.

¹⁷TTD-3, 197-202 (three holders), 210-12, 235-36, 247, 250-52 (two holders).

¹⁸TTD-3, 345-50.

¹⁹TTD-3, 468-69.

²⁰TTD-3, 280-82.

²¹TTD-3, 197-202, 345-50.

²² Stojanovski, *Dokumenti IV*, 240-41.

²³TTD-3, 273-76. Stojanovski, *Dokumenti IV*, 240-41.

²⁴"*Timar-i keşişân-i Margarid*", TTD-3, 266-70.

²⁵Another monastic *timar* is known to have existed, early in the 15th century, in the region of Bodena of Western Macedonia and was held by the monastery of St. Paul of Mt. Athos. Cf. V. Boškov, "Ein Nišan des Prinzen Orhan, Sohn Süleymân Çelebis, aus dem Jahre 1412 im Athoskloster Sankt Paulus", *WZKM*, 71 (1979), 127-52.

²⁶TTD-7, 303-304.

²⁷For the *timars* of the *serasker* of each *vilayet*: TTD-3, 184-88, 339-40. TTD-7, 123-25, 164-65, 246-50. For the *timars* of the *kadis* of Serres and Zichna: TTD-3, 262-64, 442-43. TTD-7, 134-35, 253-55. For the *timar* of the *emir-i ahor*: TTD-3, 194-95, 270-71. See Table I.

²⁸For an example of a *hükm-i hümayun* patent: TTD-3, 398.

²⁹This is indicated with the phrase: "*merhum hundgyar zamandan berü yeyü gelmiş elinde sultanımız[ın] berat[ı] vardır*".

³⁰"*ez tahvil-i pedereş*".

³¹TTD-3, 243, 404.

³²Sokoloski, *Dokumenti II*, 100-101, 105-106.

³³Beldiceanu and Nasturel, *La Thessalie: Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 110-12, 130.

³⁴Faroghi, *Rural Society II*, 117-18.

³⁵TTD-7, 163-64, 166, 168, 173-75, 177-78, 188-90, 190-92, 194-95, 201-203. In one case it was a *hudavendigyar berati*. TTD-7, 194-95.

³⁶TTD-7, 131-32, 135-36, 138-40, 144-45, 168-70, 175-77, 199-201, 205-208.

³⁷TTD-7, 170-71, 178-79. For Hass Murad Paşa, cf. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 200-15.

³⁸TTD-7, 125-26, 171-73, 179-80, 211, 211-12.

³⁹TTD-7, 136-38.

⁴⁰"*Timar-i Doğan seri-piyade ez tahvil-i Halil Paşa*". TTD-3, 252-54.

⁴¹"*Timar-i Ali veled-i Osman ez tahvil-i Dede Bali*", TTD-3, 208-209.

⁴²TTD-3, 218-19.

⁴³TTD-3, 210-12.

⁴⁴TTD-3, 444-47.

⁴⁵TTD-3, 473-74.

⁴⁶TTD-3, 455-57.

⁴⁷"*merhum hud[avendi]gyar zamandan berü yeyü gelmiş*".

⁴⁸Twenty-four years later the total number of *timar*-holders was 114 again.

⁴⁹ For their assignments see Table I.

⁵⁰TTD-3, 258.

⁵¹TTD-7, 164-65.

⁵²TTD-3, 245-46, 341-45.

⁵³ For their assignments see Table I.

⁵⁴"*serasker-i sipahiyân-i Zihne*". TTD-7, 123.

⁵⁵TTD-3, 184, 339.

⁵⁶TTD-7, 123.

⁵⁷TTD-3, 184-88. TTD-7, 246-50.

⁵⁸For Hacı Hamza: TTD-3, 258.

⁵⁹TTD-3, 339-40. TTD-7, 164-65.

⁶⁰No relation to the similarly named village mentioned earlier.

⁶¹TTD-7, 123-25.

⁶²TTD-3, 262-64. TTD-7, 253-55.

⁶³TTD-3, 442-43. TTD-7, 134-35.

⁶⁴OAK 52/59-45/30, ff. 4b-5a, in *Turski Izvori II*, 394-95.

⁶⁵OAK 45/29, f. 26a, in *Turski Izvori II*, 216-17.

⁶⁶OAK 45/29, f. 54a, in *Turski Izvori II*, 282-83.

⁶⁷TTD-4, ff. 145a-146a, in Sokoloski, *Dokumenti I*, 218-20.

⁶⁸TTD-4, ff. 20a-21b, in Sokoloski, *Dokumenti I*, 60-61.

⁶⁹"*Timar-i emir-ahor Mehmed Çelebi veled-i Mezid Beğ*". TTD-3, 194.

⁷⁰TTD-3, 194-95. TTD-7, 270-71.

⁷¹"*Timar-i merhum Saruca Paşa*". TTD-3, 365. The record of Saruca Paşa as deceased was one of the points that helped Prof. Ursinus to date the *defter* correctly. Ursinus, *Reconsideration: SOF*, 45 (1986), 31.

⁷²Mutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations*, 10.

⁷³TTD-3, 365-66.

⁷⁴Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 234, 245.

⁷⁵"*Timar-i Davud Beğ mir-i mirân-i Rum-ili*". TTD-7, 272-75.

⁷⁶TTD-7, 192-94.

⁷⁷TTD-3, 471-73.

⁷⁸TTD-3, 435-36.

⁷⁹TTD-3, 252-54.

⁸⁰TTD-7, 168-70.

⁸¹TTD-7, 190-92, 195-96, 262-66, 300-302. See Table I.

⁸²"*Timar-i Yakub kaz'asker'in kanî*". TTD-3, 225-28.

⁸³TTD-3, 444-47.

⁸⁴TTD-3, 202-206, 219-25, 229, 260-61, 478-81. See Table I

⁸⁵TTD-3, 202, 219.

⁸⁶TTD-7, 283, 317.

⁸⁷TTD-3, 260-61. TTD-7, 283.

⁸⁸TTD-3, 202-206, 219-25.

⁸⁹TTD-3, 216-17.

⁹⁰TTD-7, 177-78.

⁹¹TTD-3, 396-98, 404-406.

⁹²TTD-3, 232, 273, 354, 468. TTD-7, 136.

⁹³Hüseyin Aga Erzincanı. TTD-3, 393.

⁹⁴TTD-3, 345-50.

⁹⁵TTD-3, 367-70.

⁹⁶TTD-7, 192-94

⁹⁷"*Timar-i Nikola ve kardeşi Kostadin*" TTD-3, 235-36. For Angelos: TTD-3, 474-75. For Labrino: TTD-7, 309.

⁹⁸Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 12.

⁹⁹It is interesting that, unlike the other falconers, the chief-falconer Mustafa *doğancı başı* had military obligations. TTD-3, 202.

¹⁰⁰For details on their *timars* see Table I. For the meaning and duties of *korucu* in different contexts, see V. Demetriades, "Some Thoughts on the Origins of the *Devşirme*", in Elizabeth Zachariadou (ed.), *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389): Halcyon Days in Crete I, a Symposium Held in Rethymnon 11-13 January 1991*, Rethymnon 1993, 24, 28.

¹⁰¹N. Beldiceanu, "Recherches sur la réforme foncière de Mehmed II", *Acta Historica*, 4 (1965), 27-39.

¹⁰²We took into account an exchange rate of 41 *aspers* for one *ducat* for 1454/55 and 45 *aspers* for one *ducat* or *sultani* for 1478/79. Cf. Ş. Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914", in H. Inalcik – D. Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914*, Cambridge 1994, 954-55.

Chapter 6.

The *mülk*, the *vakıf* and the Christian religious foundations

i. The *mülks* and *vakıfs*

As it is well-known, the *mülk* was any freehold property of an individual, while the *vakıf* belonged to a pious or benevolent foundation and was supposed to provide finance for its maintenance. As a result, they were regarded as two different fiscal categories, though not too distinct. Practically, there was no essential difference, in that both were held by some authority other than the state, a fact that distinguished them from the *miri* establishment. *Mülk* and *vakıf* properties can be found within an urban or rural context, and this is apparent in the region studied here. A *mülk* or *vakıf* establishment could take shape either as real estate (for example shops, workshops, mills, vineyards, and plots of land - *çifilik*), or by way of imposing control over a number of peasants that could extend even to the whole of a peasant settlement. Both forms of *mülk* and *vakıf* are encountered in the area under examination. Hereafter follows a list and description of all *mülks* and *vakıfs* of this region in the mid-15th century according to the records of TTD-3 and TTD-7.

The *mülk* of Mehmed Çelebi and Hadice Hatun

The first *mülk*-owners recorded in this region for 1454/55 are the *emir-ahor* Mehmed Çelebi and his sister Hadice Hatun¹. As we noticed in the relevant chapter, the *emir-ahor* was in possession of another village in this district, Zeyli, as a *timar*, therefore we can accept the plausible suggestion of Beldiceanu that Mehmed Çelebi's father and former *emir-ahor*, Mezid Bey, had managed somehow to obtain possession of the *mülk*-land when he held the *emir-ahor*'s *timar* in the same region². After his death (1441) the *mülk* passed to his children.

Their domain consisted of the village of Sarmusaklu, in the district of Serres, and their revenue was derived from the levies extracted from 184 peasant taxpayers which amounted to 38843 *aspers* (12810 of the total in kind)³. Interestingly, the holders of this *mülk* were entitled to the capital tax (*cizye*) of the peasants, a total sum of 14799 *aspers*, and to another tax recorded as *cizye-i bâğât* (a tax on vineyards different from the tithe - 'öşr-i bâğât) for 4928 *aspers*⁴. This is one of the few, although not completely uncommon in *mülk* and *vakıf* properties, examples of an estate where the peasants submitted their capital tax to the landlord instead to the central treasury.

That *mülk* was no longer existing in 1478/79. The village of Sarmusaklu could still be found in the TTD-7, but by then it was a *timar*. As a *timar*, it was still held by its previous owner, Mehmed Çelebi, and another person, Hızır Çelebi, whom we can assume to be Mehmed's brother, but it was no longer held as their personal property⁵. Thus, the *emir-ahor*'s family had in the meantime lost their proprietorial rights to the village of Sarmusaklu and were only entitled to the fiscal usufruct of it, which amounted to 27672 *aspers* in 1478/79⁶, a reduced revenue compared with twenty-four years earlier even though this reduction was mainly a consequence of the fact that they were no longer entitled to the *cizye* of the village.

The *mülk* of Palaiologos

One of the few Greek notables who managed to raise themselves above the *reaya* masses and keep at the same time a considerable personal domain was this certain Palaiologos, who is described as the son of Dêmêtrios and grand-son of Laskaris⁷. His identity is obscure and there is nothing to suggest whether he had any relation with the Byzantine imperial family⁸. The name of Laskaris, attributed to his ancestry, was not unheard amongst the local Christian nobility. One can be reminded of Dêmêtrios

Bryennios Laskaris who held half of the village of Achinos as a *timar* in 1393⁹. Yet, there is no definite clue as to whether this Palaiologos was a descendant of that particular Laskaris or of a namesake. His domain was a combination of his rights of control over the village of Verzani, in the district of Serres, and of several single properties located both in the village of Iksimile and inside the town of Serres. All counted for a total revenue of 6377 *aspers* in 1454/55.

The village of Verzani was held by his family for quite a long time, as far as his freehold possession (*mülkiyât üzere tasarruf*) was confirmed in patents signed by Bayezid I, Süleyman Çelebi and Murad II¹⁰. A personally maintained (*hasa*) fishery, as well as harbour dues, provided him the sum of 1200 *aspers*, while he derived an income of 1950 *aspers* (1145 in kind, 805 in cash) from 18 *reaya* units¹¹.

The pieces of property he owned in the village of Iksimile were two parcels of land (*çifilik*), bought by him in the past, one mill and six workshops, all yielding him 2700 *aspers*, while a peasant assigned to him contributed another 327 *aspers*. Finally, he owned an out of use (*halî*) mill and two gardens, providing 200 *aspers*, in the city of Serres¹². Unlike most *mülk*-holders, Palaiologos had to serve in the army, by participating in campaigns as a *bürüme*¹³. His *mülk* had ceased to exist by 1478/79, when the second register was drawn up. In that year, the village of Verzani was incorporated to a *timar*¹⁴, while part or all of his properties in Eksilme had been sold to a *vakıf* established by Eslim Hatun¹⁵.

The *mülk* of Ali Bey son of Ismail Bey

From the text of TTD-7 we are informed that Ali Bey was the son of a certain Ismail Bey, the founder of a *mescid* (small mosque, oratory) in Serres¹⁶. This is a characteristic case of a proprietor, Ismail Bey here, who bequested some of his

properties to a foundation of his, while the rest were inherited by his son. The *mülk* of Ali Bey is recorded in both registrations and consisted of single properties on the outskirts of Serres¹⁷. In 1454/55, Ali Bey owned a plot of land (*çiftlik*) of 40 *dönüm*, i.e. 36772 m². (3.677 hectares)¹⁸, a vineyard of 10 *dönüm* (9193 m².), a second vineyard hired out to others (*zemin-i bâğ*), 10 *dönüm* as well, and one mill which yielded 400 *aspers*¹⁹. In 1478/79, he was still in possession of the *çiftlik* (40 *dönüm*), the first vineyard which had, by then expanded to 12 *dönüm*, and of the second vineyard which was hired out for rents (*mukataa-i zemin-i bâğât*)²⁰. The registration of 1478/79 contains no record of the mill or of the amount of revenue raised by Ali Bey.

The *mülk* of Michael Komnênos/Zaganos *silahdar*

This Michael Komnênos is not an identifiable personality. All that can be said about him is that he was a Greek notable who was present in this region in the late 14th and the early 15th centuries, as can be deducted from the patents of Bayezid I and Süleyman Çelebi that confirmed his freehold possession of the *mülk*. The *mülk* was some, presumably rural, property in the village of Kavaklu (or Dravaçista) in the district of Serres. Eventhough the property is registered in both of the *defters* under the name of Michael Komnênos, it was actually owned by Zaganos, the *silahdar*, who had bought it from the former at some time prior to 1454/55²¹. From the text of TTD-7 we are informed that Zaganos was still in possession of that property in 1478/79, and held the patents of Bayezid I and Süleyman Çelebi once drawn up for Komnênos²². The *mülk* apparently yielded 100 *aspers* in 1454/55²³. Twenty-four years later, the owner's income had risen to a total of 1605 *aspers*: 200 *aspers* from the owner's personal usage (*hasil 'an ziraat-i hod*), and also a quantity of cereals valued at 1380 *aspers*²⁴, plus 25 *aspers* in

cash, in the form of rents for pieces of land hired out to others²⁵. Yet, it has to be noted here, that this landowner did not have any *reaya* of his own.

The *mülk* of Murad the son of Köse Musa

The *kuloğlu* Murad, son of Köse Musa, was one of the *timar*-holders in the *vilayet* of Zichna²⁶. Indeed, he was the only one among the *timar*-holders of the entire region to own *mülk* properties within the area of his *timar*. These were two mills and one vineyard located in the village of Likovîk (the Byzantine Loukobikeia), the same village which was assigned to him as a *timar*. In 1478/79, he was still in possession of the same *timar* and, by then, his personal properties at Likovîk included the same mills and vineyard and also a house²⁷. The amounts of revenue raised from those properties are not recorded in any of the *defters*. On the other hand, the total amount of his *timar* revenue, i.e. taxes extracted from the peasants of Likovîk, was 6099 *aspers* in 1454/55 and 8440 *aspers* in 1478/79²⁸.

The *mülk* of Saruca Paşa

Saruca Paşa, who had risen to the posts of *sancakbey*, *beylerbey* and, in 1430/31 (833 H.) vizier²⁹, was one of the most notable proprietors during the first half of the 15th century. His *vakıfs* were officially established in *cemazi-ül-evvel* 858 H. (the month starting on 29 May 1454), when his *vakfiye* was drawn up, and that is the latest record of him alive³⁰. The TTD-3 was compiled soon after his death, insofar as he is described as deceased (*merhum*), and the *timar* he held in the *vilayet* of Keşişlik was still registered under his name³¹. Most of his properties lay in Edirne, where he founded and endowed a mosque and, more importantly, in Gallipoli, where he patronized a mosque and an *imaret*³². Apart from the *timar* he held in the *vilayet* of Keşişlik, he also owned a *mülk*-estate in the same district. His *mülk* was no other than the village of Chandax (Henîke or

Hendike in the Ottoman texts)³³, a possession of Michael Monomachos and the Zografou monastery in the previous century.

That estate was officially regarded as a *mülk*, eventhough the owner had died, and this is how it is described in both the TTD-3 and TTD-7. It was given the official status of *vakıf* only on the 29th of December 1481 (8 *Zilkade* 886 H.)³⁴, 27 years after the owner's death. Nevertheless, it worked in practice as a *vakıf* by 1478/79 at least, if not in 1454/55 already, and the income it brought in supported the *imaret* that Saruca Paşa had founded in Gallipoli, as it is noted in the TTD-7³⁵.

In 1454/55, the peasants of Chandax (59 fiscal units) were expected to pay 1625 *aspers* in kind and 1335 *aspers* in cash, plus 3770 *aspers* for capital-tax (*cizye*) and 1041 *aspers* for *cizye-i bâğât*, while a *hasa* fishery and harbour dues (*iskele*) counted for a revenue of 3000 *aspers*³⁶. Part of the same domain was also a vineyard (recorded under the name of Iksembliya), presumably in the vicinity of the village, which was toiled by five peasants listed separately from the *reaya* of Chandax and levied only for the vines-charge a total of 66 *aspers* in cash³⁷. Therefore, the total revenue of the *mülk* was 10837 *aspers* in 1454/55, an amount much higher than the 2291 *aspers* derived in the same year from the *timar* allocated to Saruca Paşa in the same district³⁸.

In 1478/79, 69 fiscal units of peasants payed for the *imaret* of Saruca Paşa in Gallipoli 2040 *aspers* in kind and 1561 *aspers* in cash, while the revenue from the fishery had risen to 4000 *aspers* and 100 *aspers* due from a fair were added³⁹. The total revenue was 7701 *aspers*, but there are no records of any *cizye* or *cizye-i bâğât* payments to the "lord" (i.e. the *imaret*) at this time. Furthermore, there is no record of the vineyards, known as Iksembliya, that figured in the previous *defter*.

As mentioned earlier, the village of Chandax was given the typical status of *vakıf* in 1481. Henceforth, it can be found in the following registers of the 16th century as the *vakıf* of Saruca Paşa, with revenues of 22175 *aspers* at the beginning of the 16th century⁴⁰, 22915 *aspers* in 1519⁴¹, 29480 *aspers* in 1527/28⁴², and 29489 *aspers* in 1530/31⁴³. In fact, the *mülk*, then *vakıf*, of Saruca Pasa in Southeastern Macedonia never expanded beyond the lands and properties of the village of Chandax/Hendike during the 15th and the first half of the 16th century, which is the period covered by the *defters* at our disposal.

David Komnênos of Trebizond and Southeastern Macedonia

The association of the last Emperor of Trebizond with Southeastern Macedonia, though shortlived, has been given enough attention by local scholars of Eastern Macedonia and by those who have studied the pontic Byzantine state⁴⁴. It is in general terms known that after capitulating to the Ottomans and handing over his realm to Mehmed II in 1461⁴⁵, David Komnênos was given a pension made up of fiscal revenues from Southeastern Macedonia. What is not certain is whether he actually settled in this territory, or just enjoyed the revenues he was allocated while living in Edirne; the second opinion has been supported by Falmerayer. This lasted for two years until he was suspected of conspiring with Uzun Hasan and executed together with his sons in 1463⁴⁶.

The amount of his pension is attested by Kritoboulos to be 300000 *aspers*⁴⁷. Such a large amount, however, sounds enormous according to the financial measures of this region and cannot be reasonably accepted, especially when realizing that the largest fiscal grant in this region, the *has*-domain of Serres, was no higher than 95986 *aspers* in 1454/55 and 113127 *aspers* in 1478/79. The figure given by Kritovoulos is probably either an exaggeration or a mistake. Perhaps the actual revenue assigned to David

Komnênos was 30000 *aspers*, an amount more congruent with the financial realities of the region.

Yet, nowhere is there any reference to which particular lands and settlements were allocated to David Komnênos, nor to the status of his possession, i.e. whether he was given freehold personal possession (*mülk*) or just the fiscal usufruct of *mirî* lands (*has/timar*). However, the little existing data does suggest that at least a part of David's possessions were *mülk*. Local tradition had associated the village of Orfano (or Orfani) with David Komnênos. A *firman* of Bayezid II from 31 October - 9 November 1495 (middle decade of *Safer*) is the earliest of a series of documents concerning some *çiftlik*s of the monastery of Dionysiou in that village, which later supported the establishment of a local *metochi*⁴⁸. According to the same tradition, those *çiftlik*s were donated to the Dionysiou monastery by David Komnênos⁴⁹. If some credence is to be attributed to this story, then we have to accept that those pieces of property were a *mülk* of David Komnênos, otherwise he would not have been able to donate them. The *defters* do not help in this case. The TTD-3 was compiled before the arrival of David, the TTD-7 long enough after his execution.

There is no mention of David Komnênos anywhere in the TTD-7 nor of the monastic possession at Orfano, the village being a *timar* in 1478/79. Nevertheless, the absence of a record for that monastic property does not necessarily mean that it was not existing. Insofar as there is no reason to reject the tradition attributing the donation of land to the monastery of Dionysiou by David Komnênos, we can accept that freehold possessions of his existed indeed, at least in that village. What by no means can be known is whether his *mülk* was limited to the property he later gave to the monastery or whether it included the entirety of the village at that time. Unfortunately for the historian,

David's shortlived association with Macedonia occurred during a period from which there are no surviving registers which could have shed light on his possessions and revenues.

The *mülk* of Mara Branković

Mara, the daughter of the Serbian Despot George Branković who was married with Sultan Murad II on 4 September 1435 at the age of sixteen⁵⁰, was without doubt the most influential woman in Southeastern Europe during the 15th century. She is principally remembered for her first role in secret diplomacy with the western powers⁵¹, especially Venice, and the support she offered to the Orthodox church and monasteries⁵². As one of the Sultan's wives, she kept her Christian faith, while her Turkish name, Despina Hatun, is a derivative of the Greek Despoina. The locals in Macedonia knew her as "Kyra Marô", a name which is still given to a tower-like depot in Ezoba (Daphnê), supposed to have been built by her order: "the tower of Kyra Marô"⁵³

After her husband's death, in 1451, she returned to her father's court in Serbia and, there, she turned down a proposition to be married with Constantine XI, the last Byzantine emperor. Finally, after her father's death, in 1455, she decided to settle back in Ottoman territory and this is when her association with Southeastern Macedonia began, during the late fifties of the 15th century. The year 1457 is the most probable time of her arrival in this region after her step-son, Mehmed II, offered her property there⁵⁴. That property comprised two estates consisting of the entire villages of Ezoba and Moraviņa (the Byzantine Marabintza), both of them in the *vilayet* of Serres⁵⁵, and her possession was of a freehold nature (*mülk*).

The only detailed records of her domain can be found in the TTD-7. The village of Moraviņa was the smaller one and provided 2640 *aspers* in kind and 735 *aspers* in cash as the tax of 26 peasant households ; the *hassa* possessions, half of a fishery and a

plot of walnut trees yielded 1100 *aspers*. Thus, the total income raised from that village amounted to 4475 *aspers*⁵⁶. The village of Ezoba was larger and counted for a total revenue of 11118 *aspers*, comprising 300 *aspers* from two *hassa* mills, 30 *aspers* from a *hassa* plot of walnut and almond trees, 7570 *aspers* in kind and 3218 *aspers* in cash as the tax of 99 peasant households⁵⁷. The *mülk* of Mara Branković supplied a total of 15593 *aspers* in 1478/79, but that was not the only source of revenue she had in Southeastern Macedonia. A higher sum of 18517 *aspers* was also assigned to her from the village of Doksobino (the Byzantine Doxompous) of the Keşişlik district, which she held as a *timar* in the same year⁵⁸.

In her later years Mara bestowed some pieces of property from her *mülk* on monasteries of Mt. Athos. The monastery of St. Paul was reportedly one of the beneficiaries that received some property of hers in Ezoba⁵⁹. The same monastery, as well as Chilandar, were also entitled to 1000 *ducats* derived from her bank accounts in Ragusa⁶⁰. In the much later *defter* TTD-403 of 1530/31 there is record of a *çiftlik* in Ezoba which belonged to the monastery of Kastamonitou⁶¹. There is some possibility that this property was an old donation by Mara. But, since there is no record of that *çiftlik* in earlier registers, for example the TTD-70 of 1519, it is necessary to treat this conclusion with caution. There is equal possibility of the *çiftlik* to have had been a recent acquisition of the monastery of Kastamonitou in the years around 1530/31, as opposed to the case of an old donation by Mara.

The *mülk* of Mara Branković in Southeastern Macedonia did not survive her. After her death, on 14 September 1487⁶², the villages of Ezoba and Moraviņa were put again under Sultanik control. They were soon later incorporated in the *vakıfs* which Bayezid II bestowed on the *imaret* he founded in Istanbul⁶³.

The *mülk* of Hacı Ibri

The only record of this *mülk* dates from 1478/79. It was a parcel of land (*çiftlik*) which lay in the village of Kavaklu and was owned by a certain Hacı Ibri, son of Alaeddin⁶⁴. There are no other details given and the amount of revenue raised is not specified.

The *vakıfs* of the mosque of Murad I

Also known as "The Old Mosque" (*Eski Câmi*, *Atik Câmi*) or "The Grand Mosque" (*Câmi el-kebir*), the oldest mosque in Serres was built by command of the Grand Vizier Kara Halil Çandarlı in 1385/86 (787 H.), just two years after the conquest of the city, and was dedicated to the reigning Sultan Murad I⁶⁵. The mosque, one of the principal Islamic monuments of the city and the most important place of worship there, was located in the south-west part of the city, outside the old fortified section, and the surrounding territory was known as "the mosque quarter" (*mahalle-i câmî*)⁶⁶. It must have been a mosque of rather modest size, and for this reason it is labeled as a *mescid* (small mosque, oratory) in the 15th-century registers⁶⁷. The same foundation is referred to as a *câmi* in the registers of the following century⁶⁸.

In 1454/55, the mosque's endowments consisted of six shops (*dekakin*) and one mill. The mosque was also entitled to a share of 7200 *aspers* from the *cizye* of the Christian inhabitants of Serres⁶⁹. 1080 more *aspers* were contributed from the revenues of the *evlâtlik vakıf* of the Çandarlı family in the *vilayet* of Ostrovo⁷⁰. A total sum of 10800 *aspers* was reserved for the staff of the mosque. 5040 *aspers* out of this amount were for the preacher (*hatib*), 1440 *aspers* for the *imam*, 1440 *aspers* for the cryer (*müezzin*), and 2880 *aspers* for the *hafızân* and the *muarrif*⁷¹.

More information about the *vakıfs* of the mosque and their yield is given in the TTD-7. One butchery (*başıhâne*) provided an annual revenue of 2880 *aspers*, five shops (*dukañ 5 bâb*) contributed another 720 *aspers*, the rest of the mosque's income continued to be derived from the *cizye* of the Christian inhabitants of Serres to the amount of 7200 *aspers*⁷². Shares of this revenue were still directed to the same functionaries as in 1454/55, but the exact amounts are not specified on this occasion. Nevertheless, the total amount of 10800 *aspers* which the mosque earned in 1478/79 is equal to the payment received by its personnel in 1454/55. Therefore, the combination of data from 1454/55 and 1478/79 makes clear that the total amount of recorded revenues had remained the same between 1454/55 and 1478/79 and was totally reserved for the salaries of the staff.

The *vakıfs* of the *mescid* of Ismail Bey

Ismail Bey, the father of the *mülk*-proprietor Ali Bey, was the founder of an oratory in Serres which he endowed with some of his properties. Those were six shops, providing an annual revenue of 720 *aspers*, and one mill providing 400 *aspers*, a total of 1120 *aspers* in 1454/55⁷³. Twenty-four years later, there is record of 12 shops which provided the sum of 720 *aspers*⁷⁴. The fact that twelve shops were reported to provide the same amount of cash in 1478/79 as six shops did in 1454/55 is suspect. There is some possibility that the scribe recorded the wrong number of shops for 1478/79. Insofar as the mill is concerned, there is no record of its in the register of 1478/79.

The *vakıfs* of Evrenos

Born in Karasi in Asia Minor, Ahmed Evrenos became the most famous among the warlords who carried out the early Ottoman expansion in the Balkans. His long life was full of military action, starting with his participation in the Turkish forces sent by

Orhan in assistance to John Kantakouzênos in 1346 and 1352. Then, after the establishment of the Turkish bridgehead at Gallipoli, in 1354, he played a major role in the conquest of Thrace and Macedonia in command of irregular *gazi* forces. His troops captured Gümülcine (Komotinê), then Boru (Peritheorion), Iksate (Xanthê) and Marulya (Maroneia) in Thrace. Then he participated in the capture of Serres, in 1383, and the Albanian campaign of 1384-85. He was, finally, in command of raiding activities against Thessaly, in 1389 and 1393, and the Morea in 1397⁷⁵. Being a march-lord (*uçbey*) in Western Thrace and Macedonia, he established a vast personal domain over these regions, which became the base of sizeable and rich *vakıfs* that bore his name. Through the possession and maintenance of these *vakıfs* his descendants remained among the wealthiest landowning families in Macedonia until the collapse of Ottoman rule in 1912.

The history of his *vakıf*'s foundation was believed to have begun in 1386, when, according to a document attributed to Murad I, he was granted the right to declare *vakıf* any land he wished in the area between Komotinê and the Albanian border⁷⁶. Nevertheless, that document, which bears the date of *evail sevval* 788 (28 October - 4 November 1386) and has the characteristics of neither a *ferman* nor a *berat*, has been proven by Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr to be a fake⁷⁷. Anyway, even if the chronology of 1386 is an inaccurate one, part of the personal domain of Evrenos was certainly turned into *vakıf* sooner or later. From 1519, when sufficient documentation becomes available and can supply concrete information on the *vakıfs* of Evrenos, they can be distinguished into three distinct units, those of Komotinê, Serres and Southcentral Macedonia, each one under a different status and administration.

The *vakıf* of Evrenos in Serres is recorded in the earliest registers TTD-3 and TTD-7, whereas the *vakıfs* of Komotinê and Southcentral Macedonia are described in detail for the first time in the TTD-70 of 1519. By the mid-15th century, when the earliest data are available, the *vakıfs* of Evrenos were much reduced compared to the extent they must have had at the turn of the century. The occasional rivalry between the house of Evrenos and some of the Sultans⁷⁸, as well as the expansion of the *timar*-system from the time of Mehmed I onwards, resulted in the reduction of the land held by them.

The *vakıfs* of Evrenos in Southcentral Macedonia were *evlâtlik*, i.e. personally held and administered by his descendants who resided at Yenice-i Vardar. They were also the wealthiest, incorporating a great deal of land in the districts of Karaferye (Berrhoia), Avrathisar (Gynaikokastron) and Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa). Unlike these, the *vakıfs* of Evrenos in Serres were linked to an *imaret*⁷⁹, i.e. a soup-kitchen that provided free food to the poor and needy, that was founded by him in the quarter of the city bearing his name⁸⁰.

When the registration of 1454/55 was conducted, the estate that Evrenos had bestowed on his *imaret* had not yet officially received the status of a *vakıf*; it is described as a *mülk-vakıf* instead. As it is stated in the *defter*, the freehold nature of the possession was guaranteed in sultanic patents, including one by Mehmed II⁸¹. The official status of *vakıf* was conferred to that possession later, presumably before 1478/79, the year when it is normally cited as a *vakıf*.

The *vakıf*'s only asset in 1454/55 was an estate comprising the entire village of Toumba (Dunba in the texts) whose 113 peasant households were levied 5156 *aspers* in kind and 3963 *aspers* in cash, a total of 9119 *aspers*⁸². By 1478/79, the *vakıf* had expanded to incorporate more possessions. The first additions were some properties

inside the city of Serres, 5 shops with a revenue of 6300 *aspers*, a vineyard of 40 *dönüm* (3.677 hectares) which provided 300 *aspers*, and two disused mills (*harab*)⁸³. Another addition was a *çiftlik* in the suburb of Serres known as Kamenîç (the Byzantine Kamenikeia where the convent of St. Nicholas lay). The revenue raised from that property was 4440 *aspers* in kind and 1335 *aspers* in cash, a total of 5775 *aspers*⁸⁴. The village of Toumba continued to make part of these *vakıfs* and the peasants' taxes, 96 households by then, had risen to 11702 *aspers* in kind and 10375 *aspers* in cash, a total of 22077 *aspers*⁸⁵. The total revenue of these *vakıfs* was 34452 *aspers* in 1478/79, more than a threefold increase in *aspers* compared with twenty-four years earlier. To the peasants of Toumba were added some new settlers, a group of 31 Muslim households, who are identified in later *defters* as Yürüks, and a group of six Christian households⁸⁶. As new settlers, those two groups were not yet required to submit tax at the time the TTD-7 was drawn up.

The development of property and revenue of these *vakıfs* can be followed in the series of 16th-century registers. In the first years of the 16th century the *vakıfs* of Evrenos in Serres consisted of the village of Toumba, plus the Yürük community, who had begun to be taxed by then, the properties inside Serres and the *çiftlik* in Kamenikeia; their total revenue amounted to 39915 *aspers*⁸⁷. In 1519 the income had risen to 43664 *aspers* and one more village, the village of Kalohorît, was added to the possessions⁸⁸. For 1527/28 the *vakıf's* revenue is given as 43786 *aspers*⁸⁹, an amount that remained the same in 1530/31⁹⁰.

The registration of 1519 is the earliest to contain complete and comparable records for the three distinct *vakıf*-establishments of Evrenos, the ones of Komotinê, Serres and Southcentral Macedonia. The *vakıfs* of Evrenos in Komotinê were linked with

his local foundations, a mosque ("*Gazi Evrenos Camı*"), a dervish-convent (*teke*), and an *imaret*⁹¹. They consisted of properties inside the city, one village, and one *çiftlik* with a total revenue amounting to 55902 *aspers*⁹². They were, therefore, substantially richer than those of Serres which raised 43664 *aspers* in the same year. The *evlâtlık vakıfs* of Evrenos in Southcentral Macedonia were enormously rich and vast. They consisted of 58 villages and one *çiftlik* with an income of no less than 460983 *aspers* (without considering the separate *vakıfs* that were established by the sons of Evrenos, Isa and Ali)⁹³.

The village of Toumba, the *çiftlik* of Kamenikeia and some other possessions in Southeastern Macedonia remained *vakıfs*, registered under the name of Evrenos, until 1910⁹⁴.

The *vakıf* of Turahan Bey

Turahan Bey was one of the second generation of march-lords, who, together with the sons of Evrenos and Ishak Bey, were active in the command of *Gazi* forces from the twenties until the middle of the 15th century. He emerged in 1421 when he is reported to have supported the coup of Düzme Mustafa⁹⁵. After the latter's defeat and execution, Turahan was pardoned by Murad II and, henceforth, took part in several campaigns. He was given the command of the Thessalian border and, since the area was organized into a *sancak*, he became its first *sancakbey* based on Trikala.

One of his last actions was to draw up the *vakfiye* for his several endowments in 858 H. (1454)⁹⁶. The TTD-3 records him as deceased so we can assume that he died very soon after compiling the above *vakfiye*⁹⁷. In this year the post of *sancakbey* at Trikala was occupied by his son Umur Bey⁹⁸.

Turahan Bey had patronized several pious foundations in Thrace and Thessaly which he endowed with the necessary *vakıfs*⁹⁹. One of his *vakıfs* lay in Southeastern Macedonia and consisted of the village of Meryani (today Lygaria) in the *vilayet* of Serres. The income raised from that village was assigned to the support of two foundations of Turahan Bey, a *medrese* (theological college) at Malkara and a *zaviye* (dervish-convent) at Kırk Kavak (in the vicinity of Uzun Köprü), both in Eastern Thrace¹⁰⁰. In 1454/55, the 87 households of Meryani were expected to provide 4856 *aspers* in kind, 2822 *aspers* in cash, 7882 *aspers* for *cizye* and 781 *aspers* for *cizye-i bâğât*, a total of 16341 *aspers*¹⁰¹. Twenty-four years later, 89 households payed a total of 17653 *aspers*¹⁰², but in the later registration there is no record of *cizye* or *cizye-i bâğât* payments.

The village of Meryani continued to be a *vakıf* of the aforementioned foundations well into the following century, with revenues of 26712 *aspers* in the early years of the century¹⁰³, 18531 *aspers* in 1519¹⁰⁴, 16998 *aspers* in 1527/28¹⁰⁵, and 16988 *aspers* in 1530/31¹⁰⁶. A new *vakıf* registered under the name of Turahan's son Umur Bey was established in the 16th century and consisted of the village of Porna (Gazôros) with its revenues supporting a mosque founded by Umur Bey at Malkara¹⁰⁷.

The *vakıfs* of Bahaeddin Paşa

Soon after the city of Serres came under Ottoman rule, the *molla* Bahaeddin Paşa, son of *seyh* Hizir from Tokat, founded there a *zaviye* (dervish convent), which is, together with the mosque of Murad I, the oldest known Islamic foundation in the city. The first document concerning the endowments of Bahaeddin Paşa in favour of his *zaviye* was drawn up on 26 *safer* 790 H. (6 March 1388), and was followed by a *ferman*,

issued on 16 *cemazi-ül-evvel* 792 H. (2 June 1390), that bore the Sultan's authorization for the establishment of the *vakıfs*¹⁰⁸.

These *vakıfs* were made up of urban properties in the town of Serres, as well as of a rural estate containing the village of Lakos, or Makeşi¹⁰⁹ (today Ampeloi), in the *vilayet* of Serres. In 1454/55, the urban element of the *vakıfs* consisted of 10 shops let out for 48 *aspers* per year each of them, thus amounting to 480 *aspers*, a mill let out for the annual total of 276 *aspers*, a garden providing 30 *aspers*, and the land of one of the city's quarters (*zemin-i mahalle*) which generated the sum of 700 *aspers* from rents¹¹⁰. All these amounted to a total of 1486 *aspers*. At the same time, the income raised from the village of Lakos was 4843 *aspers* (3190 in kind 1653 in cash) through the tax payments of 51 peasant households¹¹¹. Therefore, the total revenue of these *vakıfs* was 6329 *aspers* in 1454/55. By 1478/79, their total revenue had risen to 11004 *aspers*, of which 1310 *aspers* were contributed by the urban properties and 9694 *aspers* were paid by 83 fiscal units of peasants in the village of Lakos¹¹².

The registers of the 16th century contain records of these *vakıfs* with revenues of 15143 *aspers* at the beginning of the century¹¹³, 14056 *aspers* in 1519¹¹⁴, 15942 *aspers* in 1527/28¹¹⁵, and the same amount in 1530/31¹¹⁶. The fragment of Sofia, which dates from the first decade of the 16th century, is the latest register that includes records of the urban element of these *vakıfs*. All later *defters*, from 1519 onwards, the *icmal* ones TTD-70, TTD-143 and TTD-167, as well as the *mufassal* TTD-403, concern only the village of Lakos and do not include any mention of urban properties.

The *vakıf* of the *mescid* of Eslim Hatun

Balta dates the emergence of this *vakıf* to 1519¹¹⁷, but it was actually much earlier and its first record can be found in the registration of 1478/79¹¹⁸. A daughter of the

Grand Vizier Halil Çandarlı, Eslim Hatun had founded a *mescid* (small mosque, oratory) in Serres, presumably in the quarter of the city that bore her name¹¹⁹, and endowed it with some properties (not specified in the TTD-7) which were already sanctioned in *vakfnames* in 1478/79¹²⁰.

Some of those properties were previously *mülk*-possessions of Palaiologos in the village of Iksilme¹²¹, or Eksemile, from whom Eslim Hatun had purchased them¹²². Those counted for a revenue of 180 *aspers* to which were added 200 *aspers* raised from some assets of the *vakıf* inside Serres¹²³. Therefore, an annual income of 380 *aspers* was at the disposal of the *mescid* in 1478/79.

The fragment of Sofia does not contain any records of this *vakıf*. In the 1519 register the *vakıf* re-emerges and, apparently, it was made up then of the revenue of the village of Prosnik (Prosiniki, today Skotoussa), which was 11203 *aspers* collected from 57 peasant fiscal units¹²⁴. This revenue was lowered to 7622 *aspers* in 1527/28 and 1530/31¹²⁵.

ii. Concluding Remarks on the *mülk* and *vakıfs*

The registration of 1454/55 contains records of six *mülks* and five *vakıfs*, while, twenty-four years later, there were six *mülks* and six *vakıfs*. To those have to be added the *mülk* properties supposedly owned by David Komnênos between 1461 and 1463. As far as the *vakıfs* are concerned, all of them were supporting pious or benevolent foundations, none were of the *evlâtlık* type. They were linked to local foundations with the exception of two, those of Turahan Bey and Saruca Paşa, which supported foundations located elsewhere. Some of these *mülks* and *vakıfs* were composed of real estate, urban or rural¹²⁶, others were established over a settlement of dependent

peasants¹²⁷, while in others both real estate and control over some peasants were combined¹²⁸.

The peasant settlements that constituted a *mülk* or *vakıf* were exploited in the same manner as those belonging to the state. Some sources of revenue within the settlement were *hassa*, i.e. reserved for the lord's personal usage, the rest were allocated to the peasants in return for annual rents. The *reaya* of *mülk* and *vakıf* lands were liable to the same payments as those of the *mirî* lands and their tithes on most agricultural products had to be levied in kind. One difference between *mirî* and *mülk* or *vakıf* lands concerned the *cizye* and some other taxes of the *haraç* category. In some occasions, the *cizye* and other *haraç* payments could be directed to the proprietors of the *mülk* or *vakıf* land instead of the central treasury, as it would normally be expected. Three such examples are present in the region studied here; the peasants of Sarmusaklu (*mülk* of Mehmed Çelebi and Hadice Hatun), Meryani (*vakıf* of Turahan Bey), and Chandax (*mülk* of Saruca Paşa) had to submit their *cizye*, as well as a tax on vineyards, described as *cizye-i bâğât*, to the landowner not to the state, in 1454/55. Both payments are cited separately for each liable fiscal unit. The *cizye-i bâğât* was a *haraç* payment, distinct to the tithe on vines (*‘öşr-i bâğât*), and was levied in cash, unlike the tithe which was usually levied in kind. The mosque of Murad I was also entitled to 7200 *aspers* from the *cizye* of the Christian population of Serres.

All *mülks* and *vakıfs* encountered in this region were of a rather small or moderate size and revenue. The most profitable of those registered in 1454/55 was the *mülk* of Mehmed Çelebi and Hadice Hatun with a revenue of 38843 *aspers*. Twenty-four years later, the highest revenue was raised by the *vakıfs* of Evrenos to the amount of 34452 *aspers*. Domains of a higher financial measure can be found elsewhere. For

example, the *evlâtlık vakıf* of the Çandarlı family encompassed the entire *vilayet* of Ostrovo (adjoining the *vilayet* of Serres on the North-west), incorporating the town of Ostrovo and twelve villages, and which provided 43883 *aspers* in 1454/55¹²⁹. The *vakıfs* of Ishak Bey in the district of Skopje included three villages, as well as properties inside the city of Skopje, which all provided the sum of 78531 *aspers* in 1467/68¹³⁰.

The comparison of income raised from the *mülks* and *vakıfs* of Southeastern Macedonia presents interesting fluctuations between 1454/55 and 1478/79. An overall idea can be given by the two following charts¹³¹:

1) The *mülks*

| <u>Mülk</u> | <u>1454/55</u> | | <u>1478/79</u> | | <u>percentage of fluctuation</u> | |
|---------------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| | <u>asper</u> | <u>ducat</u> | <u>asper</u> | <u>ducat/sultani</u> | <u>asper</u> | <u>ducat/sultani</u> |
| Mehmed Çelebi | 38843 | 947.39 | - | - | - | - |
| Palaiologos | 6377 | 155.53 | - | - | - | - |
| Ali Bey son of Ismail Bey | 400(at least) | 9.75 | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| Komnênos/Zaganos | 100(at least) | 2.43 | 1605 | 35.27 | 1505% | 1351.44% |
| Saruca Paşa | 10837 | 264.31 | 7701 | 169.25 | -28.93% | -35.96% |
| Murad son of Köse Musa | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| Mara Branković | - | - | 15593 | 342.70 | - | - |
| Haci Ibri | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| Total for <i>mülks</i> | 56557 | 1379.43 | 24899 | 547.23 | -55.97 % | -60.32 % |

2) The *vakıfs*

| <u>Vakıf</u> | <u>1454/55</u> | | <u>1478/79</u> | | <u>percentage of fluctuation</u> | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| | <u>asper</u> | <u>ducat</u> | <u>asper</u> | <u>ducat/sultani</u> | <u>asper</u> | <u>ducat/sultani</u> |
| <i>Mescid</i> of Murad I | 10800 | 263.41 | 10800 | 237.36 | 0% | -9.88% |
| <i>Mescid</i> of Ismail Bey | 1120 | 27.31 | 720 | 15.82 | -35.71% | -42.07% |
| <i>Imaret</i> of Evrenos | 9119 | 222.41 | 34452 | 757.18 | 277.80% | 240.44% |

| | | | | | | |
|--|--------|---------|-------|---------|--------|---------|
| Turahan Bey | 16341 | 398.56 | 17653 | 387.97 | 8.02% | -2.65% |
| Zaviye of Bahaeddin Paşa | 6329 | 154.36 | 11004 | 241.84 | 73.86% | 56.67% |
| Mescid of Eslim Hatun | - | - | 380 | 8.35 | - | - |
| Total for <i>vakıfs</i> | 43709 | 1066.07 | 75009 | 1648.54 | 71.60% | 54.63% |
| Total for <i>mülks</i> and <i>vakıfs</i> | 100266 | 2445.51 | 99908 | 2195.78 | -0.35% | -10.21% |

During the twenty-four years that elapsed between the two registrations the development of *mülks* and *vakıfs* followed different patterns. That was a period of decline for the *mülk*. Although most *mülks* of those existing in 1454/55 were still encountered in 1478/79, and even though two new ones had emerged, the disappearance of two important domains, the most profitable one of Mehmed Çelebi and Hadice Hatun, and the one of Palaiologos, had a negative effect on the total *mülk* revenue, resulting in its considerable decrease, which could not be counterbalanced by the establishment of new domains, like the one of Mara Branković. On the contrary, the *vakıfs*, although they were not multiplied by new establishments except for the one of Eslim Hatun, saw their revenue becoming much higher. This was predominantly due to the enormous increase in the revenues generated by the *vakıfs* of Evrenos.

Those developments coincided with the reign of a Sultan who is believed to have disinclined towards the expansion of *mülk* and *vakıf* possessions. Scholars like Čvetkova and Beldiceanu have attributed to Mehmed II a conscious policy of restraining the development of *mülks* and *vakıfs* and reclaiming those possessions for the state. This policy has been labeled "the fiscal reform of Mehmed II" and it is believed to have been inspired by Karamani Mehmed Paşa, whose influence rose after he became *nişancı* and vizier in 1464 and reached the top in 1478, when he was appointed Grand-vizier. That policy is also believed to have taken a radical character during the later years of Mehmed II, when, according to Aşıkpaşazade, thousands of *mülk* and *vakıf* villages were

disqualified and transformed into *mirî* lands¹³². Aşıkpaşazade's statement is certainly full of exaggeration. Nevertheless, there is enough ground to suggest that Mehmed II did have a negative attitude to *mülk* and *vakıf* establishments and his effort to check their expansion was a reality. The scholars who advocated the theory of his "fiscal reform" cite many examples of confiscations and disqualifications of *mülk* and *vakıf* domains during Mehmed II's reign, especially in the seventies of the 15th century.

The two registers at our disposal, the first dating from the early years of his reign the second from the late, are ideal material for checking whether and how such a policy was implemented in Southeastern Macedonia. There are some points which, undoubtedly, demonstrate a negative attitude towards the *mülks* and *vakıfs*, such as the disqualification of two important domains, those of Mehmed Çelebi and Palaiologos, as well as the restraints imposed on the financial basis of others: in 1478/79 the *mülk* of Saruca Paşa and the *vakıf* of Turahan Bey were no longer entitled to *haraç* payments, *cizye* and *cizye-i bâğât*, from the peasants of Meryani and Chandax, in contrast with twenty-four years earlier. On the other hand, all the other *mülks* and *vakıfs* registered in 1454/55 were existing twenty-four years later, a few new ones were added, most remarkably the *mülk* of Mara Branković, and, finally, the *vakıf* of Evrenos had considerably expanded its territorial and financial base.

Evidently, the policies of reclaiming lands and revenues for the state were employed in Southeastern Macedonia during the course of Mehmed II's reign, but not in a particularly drastic manner. It seems that effort was made not to eliminate every *mülk* and *vakıf* but rather to suspend their expansion. As shown above, only the *mülks* of Southeastern Macedonia were really and seriously affected by the unfavourable policies of Mehmed II. The *vakıfs* were proven more resistant, probably in consequence of their

pious character. When those policies were abandoned, with Bayezid II's coming to power, *mülk* and *vakıf* domains began expanding rapidly. It is enough to say that while in 1454/55 there were only 6 *mülk* or *vakıf* villages in the entire region of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik, a number that remained the same in 1478/79, by 1519 the number of *mülk* and *vakıf* villages had risen to 32 in the same districts.

iv. Property and Status of the Orthodox Church and Monasteries in the 15th century

Considering that a major characteristic of Southeastern Macedonia, in the late Byzantine period, was the overwhelming presence of monastic holdings, the subsequent question of their fate after the Ottoman conquest becomes a principal issue for historical research. The Ottoman policy toward the Greek Orthodox church was determined not only by the Islamic principle of religious toleration, but also by their institutional recognition of the latter as representative of their Christian subjects. In concordance to this policy, the Christian religious bodies continued in holding and exploiting certain sources of revenue, that were necessary for their continuous function and for the clergymen's subsistence.

On the other hand, the pressing financial needs that had to be faced by the Ottoman state made it impossible to leave the size of ecclesiastical and monastic property intact, to the extent it had reached in the late Byzantine years. Indeed, the Ottomans proceeded to confiscation in a considerable degree leaving the Orthodox church and monasteries with very little compared to the enormous wealth they had accumulated during the previous century. They did so everywhere throughout the newly conquered lands, including of course the area of Southeastern Macedonia¹³³. The reduction of monastic property in this region is striking by all means. During the early years of Ottoman rule, i.e. in the late 14th century, one can still find the monasteries in control of

peasant settlements¹³⁴. Nevertheless, a look at the two 15th-century fiscal surveys of this region, the TTD-3 and the TTD-7, shows in the first place that all of the villages that were controlled by Athonite monasteries in the previous century had changed hands and had been transferred into, mostly, *timar*-holdings. Furthermore, both of the surveys contain no mention at all of any kind of Athonite property. It can be easy to conclude that all of the pre-existing Athonite property in this region had been confiscated, but there are other pieces of evidence which contradict such an assertion.

The problem of Athonite property in Southeastern Macedonia and the absence of relative information in the 15th-century registers will be dealt with in due course. A first step in our approach to the question of ecclesiastical and monastic property is to make use of the data given by the 15th-century registers on this matter. Priests and monks were normal taxpayers in the same way as most other members of the community. For this reason, the lists of taxpaying persons, which are contained in the TTD-3 and the TTD-7, are full of men described as *Papas* or *kaloyur*, priests and monks respectively. Furthermore, every church-building, either a parish-church or a *metochi*, was endowed with some pieces of property, e.g. a vineyard or some fruit-trees in the modest cases, and this made it a taxable unit. Exceptional cases were some ecclesiastical and monastic centres, including their staff, which were granted special privileges on social and fiscal grounds. Such privileges ranged from full exemption to a lighter taxation, according to each particular case.

The special social status and fiscal regime of the monasteries in Mt. Athos and of the principal monastic centres in the Pontos, i.e. Vazelon, Soumela and Peristera, have been studied by Prof. Heath Lowry¹³⁵. In so far as Southeastern Macedonia is concerned, the privileged religious bodies of the region can be found in the TTD-3, the TTD-7 and the

Sofia fragment of the early 16th century which has been published by Evangelia Balta. These were the Metropolitan Church of Serres, the Metropolitan Church of Zichna, and the monastery of St. John Prodromos, which have all been studied to some extent by N. Beldiceanu, P.S. Năşturel and Evangelia Balta¹³⁶. Apart from these three religious bodies, the *defters* contain no particular record of any other ecclesiastical authority or monastery in the area of the present study. The reason why such religious bodies, of those which existed in the region in previous periods, are not listed among the *defter* contents, can be either a state of defunct, in which they had fallen, or lack of necessity to keep particular records of them. The *defter*-scribes did list the names of tax-paying priests and monks, among the rest of the *reaya*, but were indifferent towards the particular church or monastery which they belonged to.

Turning to the three principal religious bodies of 15th-century Southeastern Macedonia, the dioceses of Serres and Zichna and the monastery of St. John Prodromos, their major privilege lay within their exemption. The status of full fiscal immunity, that was enjoyed by the two dioceses, was confirmed by sultanic decree¹³⁷ and applied to the Metropolitans themselves¹³⁸, to the higher clergy of each diocese, who were housed at the cathedral churches of St. Theodore in Serres and the Taxiarch in Zichna, to the properties and revenues of each diocese, and to a small number of parish-churches in the respective vicinities which shared the fiscal immunity and contributed to the diocese's income. These few churches, which are recorded in the *defters*, were the exception, as most other in the region were normally taxed by the state.

In the case of St. John Prodromos monastery (the *Manastir-i Margarid* as the Ottomans knew it) the privileges concerned its monks, who were exempt from personal taxation, and its property. Furthermore, the monastery of Prodromos had a special

privilege, in 1454/55, to have been assigned a *timar*, the same as the monastery of St. Paul of Mt. Athos which is known to have been allocated a *timar* in Western Macedonia early in the 15th century¹³⁹. In the case of Prodromos monastery, the *timar* contributed to no less than 79 % of the whole of the monastery's income in that year and made it much wealthier compared to the two dioceses. When, by 1478/79, the monastery was no longer entitled to the *timar*, its revenues had declined sharply and were, thus, comparable to those of the two dioceses.

Leaving aside the *timar* of St. John monastery, the income of those religious institutions was derived from the real estate they had under possession (through direct exploitation, or hiring out etc.) and not from peasant levies. By the mid-15th century, the phenomenon of dependent peasantry (the *paroikoi*) was no longer present in Southeastern Macedonia. The monastic *timar*, i.e. the one held by Prodromos monastery in 1454/55, is not a relevant case, because what the monastery earned from the *timar* was fiscal revenue and no ties of dependence existed between the people living in the *timar* territory and the monastery. The abolition of peasant-dependency did not take place directly after the Ottoman conquest of the land, it was instead a gradual development. We are informed by decrees of Musa Çelebi and Mehmed I (dating from 1412 and 1419 respectively) that Prodromos monastery was still in control of *paroikoi* in those years and the exemptions, that were granted by these Sultans to the monks, were extended to the monastery's dependent peasants as well¹⁴⁰.

Whereas a dependent peasantry was no longer present in Southeastern Macedonia, during the middle and later 15th century, it continued existing elsewhere in the post-Byzantine world. In c. 1470, the nunnery of Theotokos in Vostiça and the convent of Gerontos, both in the Morea, were in control of *paroikoi*, twelve *hane* and one *mücerred*

for the former, ten *hane* for the latter¹⁴¹. It is not specified, however, whether the exemptions, that were awarded to the nuns and monks, applied also to the *paroikoi* or not. Dependent peasants were also present in the *metochi* of Pantokrator monastery in Lemnos; they are recorded in the surveys of 1489 and 1519 and the monastery seems to have lost control on them by 1525¹⁴².

For the dioceses of Serres and Zichna, the *defters* are the only existing source with regard to their status and finances in the 15th century, and almost nothing is known about them from the previous century. On the other hand, the monastery of St. John is accompanied by more information, supplied by some documents copying decrees by the first Ottoman Sultans. The first to have been favourable toward the monastery, even before the establishment of Ottoman rule in these lands, was Murad I, who promised that the *gazis* would spare the monastery's properties from plundering and its monks and *paroikoi* from enslavement¹⁴³. Then, Musa Çelebi, in 1412, and Mehmed I, in 1419, issued for the monks of St. John to be exempt from levies, the same for their *paroikoi*, guaranteed the integrity of the monastery's property and made special arrangements for its exception from contributions to the extra-ordinary payments (*avariz-i divaniye*) and to the postal services¹⁴⁴. The next surviving document in the archives of St. John contains a decree by Mehmed II and dates from 1460, it is therefore posterior to the drawing up of TTD-3. The document contains a list of the monastery's possessions (they are exactly the same as they appear in TTD-3), guarantees for their integrity and provision for the monks' exemption¹⁴⁵. There is no mention of the *timar* in that document, therefore a question arises whether it had already been subtracted from the monastery by then, or it was not mentioned because the sultanic decree was only concerned with the direct possessions of the monastery and the fiscal status of the

monks, matters quite irrelevant to the *timar*. The second option seems more likely, for the *timar*'s subtraction corresponds with Mehmed II's policies during the later years of his reign, in the 1470's, while 1460 is a rather early date when the Sultan had not yet demonstrated his attitude towards a redistribution of fiscal revenue.

In fact, the monastery of St. John was deprived of the *timar* at some time prior to 1478/79. This event must have taken place in the 1470's when Mehmed II proceeded in a policy of assigning more lands and revenues to the army, something that meant a reduction of revenue for the *mülk* and *vakıf* and the turning of non-military *timars* into military. In 1478/79, the *timar*, that was formerly assigned to the monastery of St. John, was held by two Muslim persons, Ali and Yakub, who were in most probability soldiers. Furthermore, the monastery was no longer fully exempt from taxation. It had to pay 500 *aspers*, from the income earned by its properties, to the men who held the same *timar*. This was a permanent arrangement and a fixed-sum (*maktu*) of 500 *aspers* would be paid to every future *timar*-holder of the village of Gorne Trliç, as we read in TTD-7 : “...*bu cumadan Gorne Trliç nam-i diğer Sevarina yerine beş yüz akça verürler*”¹⁴⁶. Yet, although no longer fully exempt, the monks of St. John were again in a fairly privileged position, because this lump-sum of 500 *aspers* represented all of their fiscal obligation, and, moreover, it remained stable with the passing of the years. We are informed by the Sofia fragment of the early 16th century that the monks of St. John only had to pay these 500 *aspers* to the *sipahi* of Gorne Trliç and were exempt from any other payments, including the *haraç* (*cizye*), *ispençe* and tax on sheep¹⁴⁷. This must represent their state of affairs for 1478/79 as well, in so far as taxation is concerned. The stability of this charge at 500 *aspers* was proven to be in favour of the monastery in the long term, because as its finances improved it became less of a burden. While it represented a 16.12

% of the 3100 *aspers*, that were earned by the monastery in 1478/79, the rising of the monastery's income to 8310 *aspers* by the early 16th century dropped the charge to a mere 6 %.

The TTD-7 and the Sofia fragment provide also the number of the monks in the monastery of St. John, who were thirty in 1478/79 and forty-two in the early 16th century¹⁴⁸. The figure of thirty monks, for 1478/79, cannot be compared with the number of monks in Mt. Athos (there are no records of this kind for the Athonite monasteries in the same period), but it can be compared with the number of people in the nunnery of Theotôkos (15 nuns), the monastery of Mega Spêlaio (7 monks) and the monastery of Gerontos (25 monks), all in the Morea with their records dating from c. 1470¹⁴⁹. In the early 16th century the number of monks in St. John Prodromos had risen to 42 and, while the TTD-7 provides only their number, the Sofia fragment includes list of their names¹⁵⁰.

Since the monastery of St. John was deprived of its *timar*, it had to rely on the real estate it was in possession of, the same as the dioceses of Serres and Zichna did since 1454/55 already¹⁵¹. As a result of its possession of more pieces of property, the diocese of Serres earned more, 5435 *aspers* in 1478/79, compared to St. John's 3100 *aspers*, that were reduced to 2600 *aspers* after assessing the charge for the *sipahi* of Gorne Trliç, and to the 1870 *aspers* earned by the diocese of Zichna. However, the situation changed by the early 16th century, with St. John making 8310 *aspers* (7810 after assessing the levy charge) compared to the 3750 *aspers* earned by the diocese of Serres. This considerable increase in the monastery's revenue was due to its acquisition of some particularly profitable extra property, five vineyards in Monospita and an olive-tree plantation, which generated no less than 4850 *aspers*, while the possessions of the diocese of Serres show no increase in size and a lower revenue compared to 1478/79.

After having studied the property and finances of the three privileged religious institutions of Southeastern Macedonia, which are the only ones in the region to have been recorded in the 15th-century registers, the issue turns to the case of other monasteries that could have hold property in the same region during those times, especially the ones of Mt. Athos. The TTD-3 and TTD-7 contain no such references, but evidence derived from other sources makes clear that Athonite possessions existed indeed in Southeastern Macedonia during the second half of the 15th century.

A *firman* of Bayezid II from the archives of the monastery of Dionysiou, which is dated in 1495, inform us that this monastery was in possession of arable lands (*çiftlik*) at the village of Orfani (Orphano). We are also informed that these lands were normally taxed in favour of the local *sipahi*¹⁵². It is, therefore, out of the question that those pieces of land were state property (*miri*) and the monastery's possession was based on a *tapu* agreement, in commonplace with the peasant-hold lands. The properties of Dionysiou monastery in Orfani were run by a *metochi*, that was established in that village, and their origin lies in a donation made by David, the deposed emperor of Trebizond, during the short period he was assigned revenues and properties in this region (1462-63). David Komnênos should have hold these properties as *mülk*, otherwise it cannot be explained how he could have made them donation to the monastery. The monastery of Dionysiou, however, could not retain the right of full-ownership on them. They became state-owned but the monastery retained possession of them, as it is demonstrated by the *firman* of 1495. The point here is the absence of any reference to these monastic properties in Orphano within the village's records in the TTD-7 (1478/79), although they surely existed in that year.

In a similar way, a document from the Eikosiphinissa (Kosnitza) monastery, in the district of Drama, provides information of property which that monastery held at Branokastro in 1477 through a local *metochi* dedicated to St. George¹⁵³. This village lay within the district of Keşişlik; it is registered in both the TTD-3 and TTD-7 as Ivvana Kasri, but none of the registers contains reference to that monastic possession there.

In the Sofia fragment of the early 16th century there is information about three *çiftlik*s which were held by the monastery of Koutloumousiou in the location of Ftelya (a *mezraa*) in the district of Keşişlik¹⁵⁴. According to the *defter*'s information, those *çiftlik*s were tax-exempt after a request by voivode Vlad. The latter can be identified with one of the rulers of Wallachia Vlad Dracul (1418-48) or, most likely, Vlad Tepeş (1448, 1456-62, 1476)¹⁵⁵. This proves the existence of that monastic property since 1476 at the latest (that was the year of the final deposition of Vlad Tepeş). Nonetheless, a record of those estates cannot be found in the TTD-7. Then, one can raise a question on how could a vassal of the Porte, especially an unreliable one like Vlad Tepeş, be successful in attaining a privilege for his protégé, the monastery of Koutloumousiou in this case. A probable answer can be that, as the rulers of Wallachia were tribute-paying themselves, the charge for that monastic property was included in their bill. Therefore, the *çiftlik*s of the monastery were not really exempt, but someone else payed their tax in place of the monks.

In contrast to the TTD-3 and TTD-7, which contain no records of Athonite property in Southeastern Macedonia, the TTD-70, of 1519, does contain. One finds there three *çiftlik*s held by the monastery of Philotheou in a *mezraa* by the village of Canos (Tzainou)¹⁵⁶, a *çiftlik* of the "Russian" monastery of St. Panteleêmôn in Vulçista¹⁵⁷, and a

çiftlik of Chilandar in Izdravik (Sdrabiki)¹⁵⁸. The possessions of Philotheou monastery in Canos were included in a *zeamet* and payed 1720 *aspers* to the *zaim*; the holdings of St. Panteleêmôn and Chilandar, in Vulçista and Izdravik, were included in *timars* of the *kaza* of Zichna and payed to the *timar*-holders 1500 and 600 *aspers* respectively. The association of those Athonite monasteries with the locations, where their possessions lay in 1519, is well-known since the 14th century already. The absence of records for these monastic possessions in the registers of the 15th century cannot be interpreted as their probable non-existence during the 15th century, because the relative cases of monastic property in Orphano, Ftelia and Branokastro demonstrate the opposite; a monastic holding could have positively existed even if the *defters* contain no records of it. Then, how can this absence of *defter*-records be explained? The possibility of fiscal exemption cannot be the answer. The dioceses of Serres and Zichna were totally exempt but they are recorded in the *defters*, the same as their possessions. Then, as Prof. Heath Lowry has shown, whatever privileges were enjoyed by the Athonite monasteries, they were applicable only within the confines of Mt. Athos; the external possessions were liable to a more or less normal taxation¹⁵⁹. Examples from Chalkidikê, Southeastern Macedonia and Lemnos demonstrate that external Athonite possessions were included in fiscal assignments (*has*, *timar* etc.) and subjected to the norms of taxation¹⁶⁰.

This can be the explanation of the absence of records in the 15th-century registers of Southeastern Macedonia. The Athonite monasteries had indeed lost control of the peasantry in the region's settlement, but retained some of their properties. Those were regarded as state-owned (*miri*) but the monasteries were allowed to be in continuous possession of them in return for the normal taxes. There was, therefore, no practical difference between the monastic possessions and the peasant holdings. For this reason,

the scribes of TTD-3 and TTD-7 thought it unnecessary to keep special records of any monastic properties that existed in the villages they surveyed. By the early 16th century, the *defter* scribes adopted a different practice and made special mentions to monastic property within the fiscal assignments, for this reason we do find such records in the TTD-70.

Notes

¹"*Mülk-i Mehmed Çelebi ve Hadice Hâtun evlâd-i merhum Mezid Beğ*". TTD-3, 189.

²N. Beldiceanu, "Structures socio-économique d' un village de Macédoine: Aksilopigadi/Sarmısaklu (1464-65)", *Byzantion*, 54 (1984), 36.

³TTD-3, 193.

⁴These are the total figures. The amount of those two taxes received from each fiscal unit is recorded separately for every one of them. TTD-3, 189-93.

⁵"*Timar-i Hızır Çelebi ve Mehmed Çelebi veled-i Mezid Beğ*". TTD-7, 260-62.

⁶TTD-7, 262.

⁷"*Mülk-i Pálolog veled-i Dîmitrî kîm Laskarî oğludur*". TTD-3, 207.

⁸N. Beldiceanu and Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Un Paléologue inconnu de la région de Serres", *Byzantion*, 41 (1971), 13.

⁹Act. Esph., n. 30, p. 175.

¹⁰TTD-3, 207.

¹¹TTD-3, 207-208.

¹²TTD-3, 208.

¹³"*Kendü bürüme*". TTD-3, 207.

¹⁴TTD-7, 315.

¹⁵TTD-7, 351.

¹⁶TTD-7, 348.

¹⁷"*Mülk-i Alî Beğ veled-i İsmâil Beğ muttasıl-i şehir-i Sîroz*". TTD-7, 348.

¹⁸One *dönüm* was equal to 919,3 m². cf. H. Inalcik, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology", *Turcica*, 15 (1983), 340.

¹⁹TTD-3, 202.

²⁰TTD-7, 348.

²¹TTD-3, 272.

²²The text has as follows: "*Zemin-i mülk-i Mihâl veled-i Komnino ki der kariye-i Kavaklu Kalan silahdâr Zaganoz' uñ mülkîdir. Mezgür Mihâl'dan sâtub âlmış. Elllerinde merhum Bâyezid Hudâvendigâr'dan ve Emîr Süleymân'dan tâbeserahu beratları vârdır ve hem serî mektubları dâhî vârdır*". TTD-7, 350. cf. Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 89.

²³TTD-3, 272.

²⁴Eight *mudds* of wheat valued for 960 *aspers*, 6 *mudds* of barley valued for 360 *aspers*, and 1 *mudd* of millet valued for 60 *aspers*.

²⁵TTD-7, 350.

²⁶"*Timar-i Murâd veled-i Köse Musa*". TTD-3, 447. TTD-7, 146.

²⁷"*Kariye-i Likovîk. Mülk-i Murâd veled-i Musa 2 âsiyâb 1 bâğ 1 hâne*". TTD-7, 146.

²⁸TTD-3, 447-48. TTD-7, 146-47.

²⁹Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 249. Babinger, *Conqueror*, 46.

³⁰Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 248, 251. Ursinus, *Reconsideration: SOF*, 45 (1986), 31.

³¹TTD-3, 365-66.

- ³²Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 252-53. His *vakıfs* in Gallipoli are listed in the TTD-12, 196 and TTD-75, 262.
- ³³"*Kariye-i Henîke*". TTD-3, 337. "*Kariye-i Hendike ve nâm-i diğer Henike*". TTD-7, 216.
- ³⁴Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 140. Ursinus, *loc.cit.*, 31.
- ³⁵"*Mülk-i merhum Sâruca Pâşa ki vakf-i imâret-i Gelibolü kardand*". TTD-7, 216.
- ³⁶TTD-3, 337-38.
- ³⁷TTD-3, 338.
- ³⁸TTD-3, 365-66. See above, p. 135.
- ³⁹TTD-7, 216-17.
- ⁴⁰Reg. 122A, a.e. 427a, 2a-2b. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 219-20, 280-81.
- ⁴¹TTD-70, 94. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 248, 293.
- ⁴²TTD-143, 124. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 299.
- ⁴³TTD-167, 74. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 305. TTD-403, 509-10. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 342-43.
- ⁴⁴P. Pennas, *Historia tôn Serrôn*, Athens 1966, 66-68.
- ⁴⁵Babinger, *Conqueror*, 195-96. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 177-79.
- ⁴⁶Babinger, *Conqueror*, 215.
- ⁴⁷"*argyriou kerma...myriadas triakonta*". Kritoboulos, 165.
- ⁴⁸Zachariadou, *Dionysiou: SOF*, 30 (1971), n. 2, pp. 5-6, 32-33.
- ⁴⁹Act. Dion., p. 57.
- ⁵⁰Babinger, *Conqueror*, 16.
- ⁵¹Babinger, *Conqueror*, 28, 66, 289, 297, 341, 503.
- ⁵²Babinger, *Conqueror*, 436.
- ⁵³Ch. Mpakirtzês, "Ho Pyrgos tês Kyra Marôs", *AD*, 33 (1978), 316-18.
- ⁵⁴Babinger, *Conqueror*, 164.
- ⁵⁵"*Kariye-i Morâvînça*". TTD-7, 348. "*Kariye-i İzâva*". TTD-7, 349.
- ⁵⁶TTD-7, 348-49.
- ⁵⁷TTD-7, 349-50.
- ⁵⁸TTD-7, 192-94. See above, pp. 135-36.
- ⁵⁹Binon, *Les origines legendaires des monasteres de Xiropotamou et de St. Paul*, n. 32, pp. 301-303.
- ⁶⁰Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, n. 128, pp. 341-42.
- ⁶¹"*Çifilik-i manâstir-i Kâstâmonîr*". TTD-403, 447. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 311.
- ⁶²Babinger, *Conqueror*, 164.
- ⁶³TTD-70, 90. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 238-39, 291.
- ⁶⁴"*Mülk çifilik-i Hacî Ibrî veled-i Al-ad-dîn der kariye-i Kavaklu*". TTD-7, 350.
- ⁶⁵M. Kiel, "Observations on the History of Northern Greece during the Turkish Rule. Historical and Architectural Description of the Turkish Monuments of Komotini and Serres, their Place in the Development of Ottoman Turkish Architecture, and their Present Condition", *Balkan Studies*, 12 (1971), 431. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 91-94.
- ⁶⁶TTD-7, 220. Kiel, *loc.cit.*, 432.
- ⁶⁷"*Evkâf-i mescid-i merhum magfur Gâzî Hudavendigâr tabeserâhu*". TTD-3, 183. TTD-7, 348.
- ⁶⁸Reg. 122A, a.e. 427A, 7b. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 229-30, 286.
- ⁶⁹TTD-3, 183.
- ⁷⁰TTD-3, 318. Stojanovski, *Dokumenti IV*, 271.
- ⁷¹TTD-3, 183.
- ⁷²TTD-7, 348.
- ⁷³TTD-3, 202.
- ⁷⁴TTD-7, 348.
- ⁷⁵On the biography and military career of Ahmed Evrenos, cf. Irene Mélikoff, *Evrenos*: in *EI*, II (2nd ed.), 720.
- ⁷⁶Mutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations*, 9.
- ⁷⁷Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*, n. 47, pp. 228-30, 234. (With locations of manuscripts, editions and translations of that document).
- ⁷⁸Evrenos himself was at odds with Musa Çelebi (1411-13) by whom he was imprisoned (cf. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 67-68). Later on, his sons offered support to Düzme Mustafa when he tried to claim the throne from Murad II in 1421 (cf. Irene Mélikoff, *Evrenos Oghullari: EI*, II (2nd ed.), 721. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 92-93).
- ⁷⁹"*Vakf-i imâret-i merhum Evrenos Beğ tâbeserâhu*". TTD-7, 341.

- ⁸⁰"*Mahalle-i Evrenos Beğ*". TTD-7, 220.
- ⁸¹TTD-3, 236.
- ⁸²TTD-3, 236-38.
- ⁸³TTD-7, 341.
- ⁸⁴TTD-7, 341.
- ⁸⁵TTD-7, 341-43.
- ⁸⁶TTD-7, 341-43.
- ⁸⁷Reg 122A, a.e. 427A, 4b-6a. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 222-26, 283-84.
- ⁸⁸TTD-70, 91. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 240-41, 292.
- ⁸⁹TTD-143, 122. Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 298.
- ⁹⁰TTD-167, 72. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 304.
- ⁹¹Kiel, *loc.cit.*, 419, 426-28.
- ⁹²TTD-70, 32.
- ⁹³TTD-70, 168-70.
- ⁹⁴Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 143.
- ⁹⁵Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 92-93.
- ⁹⁶Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 342.
- ⁹⁷TTD-3, 238.
- ⁹⁸MMD-10 (1454/55), 1v. Beldiceanu and Năsturel, *La Thessalie: Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 122.
- ⁹⁹For the *vakıfs* of Turahan Bey in Trikala, Larissa and Damasis, see: MMD-10, 62r. TTD-36, (1506), 1291. Beldiceanu and Năsturel, *La Thessalie: Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 122-23, 126.
- ¹⁰⁰Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 156.
- ¹⁰¹TTD-3, 238-40.
- ¹⁰²TTD-7, 344-45.
- ¹⁰³Reg. 122A, a.e. 427A, 3b-4a. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 221-22, 282.
- ¹⁰⁴TTD-70, 91. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 241, 292.
- ¹⁰⁵TTD-143, 123. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 299.
- ¹⁰⁶TTD-167, 72. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 304. TTD-403, 493-95. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 334-35.
- ¹⁰⁷Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 158-60.
- ¹⁰⁸Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 182-83. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches*, n. 50, pp. 244-47. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 113.
- ¹⁰⁹From 1519 onwards, the village was also known as Yanikos. TTD-70, 91.
- ¹¹⁰TTD-3, 241.
- ¹¹¹TTD-3, 240-41.
- ¹¹²TTD-7, 345-46.
- ¹¹³Reg. 122A, a.e. 427A, 6a-6b. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 226-27, 284-85.
- ¹¹⁴TTD-70, 91. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 242, 292.
- ¹¹⁵TTD-143, 123. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 299.
- ¹¹⁶TTD-167, 74. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 305. TTD-403, 513-14. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 344-45.
- ¹¹⁷Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 106.
- ¹¹⁸"*Vakf-i mescid-i Eslîm Hatun*". TTD-7, 351.
- ¹¹⁹"*mahalle-i Eslîm Hatun*". TTD-7, 222.
- ¹²⁰"*ellerinde vakfnameleri vârdır*". TTD-7, 351.
- ¹²¹*supra*, p. 3.
- ¹²²"*Laskarî oğlu Pâlog' dan sâtub almış*". TTD-7, 351.
- ¹²³TTD-7, 351.
- ¹²⁴TTD-70, 94. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 248, 293.
- ¹²⁵TTD-143, 123. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 299. TTD-167, 73. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 305. TTD-403, 507-508. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 341-42.
- ¹²⁶Such as the *mülks* of Ali Bey, Michael Komnênos/Zaganos *silahdar*, Murad the son of Köse Musa, Hacı Ibri, and the *vakıfs* of the mosque of Murad I, the *mescid* of Ismail Bey, the *mescid* of Eslim Hatun.
- ¹²⁷These were the *mülks* of Mehmed Çelebi and Hadice Hatun, Saruca Paşa, Mara Branković, and the *vakıfs* of Evrenos in 1454/55, and Turahan Bey.
- ¹²⁸Such cases were the *mülk* of Palaiologos, and the *vakıfs* of Bahaeddin Paşa and Evrenos in 1478/79.
- ¹²⁹TTD-3, 320-29. Stojanovski, *Dokumenti IV*, 275-82.
- ¹³⁰TTD-4, 421b-424a. Sokoloski, *Dokumenti I*, 533-35.

¹³¹ *Ducat/sultani:asper* rates, 1:41 (1454/55), 1:45 (1478/79). cf. S. Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire 1326-1914", in H. Inalcik and D. Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1914*. Cambridge 1994, 954-55.

¹³² Aşıkpaşazade, 207. For the so-called "fiscal reform of Mehmed II": N. Beldiceanu, "Recherches sur la réforme foncière de Mehmed II", *Acta Historica*, 4 (1965), 29-37. Bistra Čvetkova, "Les Tahrir-Defterleri comme sources pour l'histoire de la Bulgarie et des pays balkaniques", *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 16/1 (1978), 91-104.

¹³³ For the confiscation of monastic property in Trebizond, after 1461, see :

N. Beldiceanu, "Biens monastiques d'après un registre ottoman de Trébizonde (1487). Monastères de Chrysoképhalos et de Pharos", *REB*, 35 (1977), 175-213. N. Beldiceanu – P.S. Năştural, "Le monastère de Théosképastos à la lumière d'un recensement ottoman de Trébizonde", *Byzantion*, 55 (1985), 269-331. Lowry, *Monastic properties: BF*, 16 (1991), 279.

¹³⁴ The villages of Bernarous and Mitropolitou were held by the monasteries of Lavra and Koutloumousiou respectively (Act. Kutl., n. 38, pp. 143-45); half of the village of Achinos was disputed by the monasteries of Chilandar and Esphigmenou, the other half being a *timar* of Dêmétrios Bryennios Laskaris (Act. Chil., n. 160, pp. 342-43. Act. Esph., n. 30, pp. 175).

¹³⁵ Lowry, *Note: WZKM*, 73 (1981), 115-35. *Monastic Properties, BF* (1991), 275-311.

¹³⁶ N. Beldiceanu, *Margarid: REB*, 33 (1975), 227-55. N. Beldiceanu – P.S. Năştural, *Les églises: JÖB*, 27 (1978), 269-85. Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 201-202, 206-209.

¹³⁷ The entry for the diocese of Zichna in the TTD-3 reads : "*Manastir-i mitropolid-i Zihne elinde sultanımız berat[ı] vardır*" TTD-3, 434.

¹³⁸ In 1478/79 the diocese of Zichna is described as : "*Manastir-i midrapolid Zyonis*" TTD-7, 122; this Zyonis is the contemporary Metropolitite, Dionysios, who was elected in 26 February 1463. Cf. Beldiceanu-Năştural, *loc.cit.*, 279.

¹³⁹ V. Boškov, "Ein Nišan des Prinzen Orhan, Sohn Süleymān Çelebis, aus dem Jahre 1412 im Athoskloster Sankt Paulus", *WZKM*, 71 (1979), 127-52.

¹⁴⁰ Zachariadou, *Prodromos: SOF*, 28 (1969), 3-5, 5-7.

¹⁴¹ Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Morée: SOF*, 39 (1980), 46-47.

¹⁴² Lowry, *Monastic Properties: BF*, 16 (1991), 285-88.

¹⁴³ Zachariadou, *Prodromos: SOF*, 28 (1969), 2-3.

¹⁴⁴ Zachariadou, *Prodromos: SOF*, 28 (1969), 3-7.

¹⁴⁵ Zachariadou, *Prodromos: SOF*, 28 (1969), 7-8.

¹⁴⁶ TTD-7, 270.

¹⁴⁷ NLS/OD, 122A/427a.e., 9a. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 235.

¹⁴⁸ TTD-7, 270. NLS/OD, 122A/427 a.e., 9a. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 235.

¹⁴⁹ Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Morée: SOF*, 39 (1980), 46-47.

¹⁵⁰ NLS/OD, 122A/427 a.e., 9a. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 235.

The number of monks in the Athonite monasteries is recorded for the first time in the TTD-403 of 1530/31. They numbered from as few as 4 in Simonopetra to as many as 271 in Vatopedi. The whole number of monks in Mt. Athos was 1442. (TTD-403, 1043. Lowry, *Note: WZKM*, 73 (1981), 132-33).

¹⁵¹ For a full listing of the properties and sources of revenue of those three religious bodies, see Table II.

¹⁵² Zachariadou, *Dionysiou: SOF*, 30 (1971), n. 2, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵³ That document was published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1886, cf. Dunn, *Topography*, 315-16.

¹⁵⁴ NLS/OD, 122A/427 a.e., 9a. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 235-36, 287.

¹⁵⁵ The rulers of Wallachia were especially favourable towards the monastery of Koutloumousiou since a former abbot of that monastery became archbishop of Wallachia.

¹⁵⁶ "*Mezra'a-i manastir-i Filo[ti] der kariye-i Canos üç çiftleri*". TTD-70, 54.

¹⁵⁷ "*Çiftlik-i manastir-i Rus-i manastir-i Aynaros der kariye-i Vulçista*". TTD-70, 60.

¹⁵⁸ TTD-70, 60.

¹⁵⁹ According to evidence dating from the first half of the 16th century, the whole of the monastic community in Mt. Athos paid only a lump-sum of 25000 *aspers* instead of the normal personal charges on each monk (*cizye*, *ispence* etc.), the tithes on production and the extra-ordinary taxes. This special arrangement applied only to the monks living within Mt. Athos and to the locally produced goods. The outlying *metochia* and properties of the Athonite monasteries did not share the privilege and were liable to personal taxation for the monks and to the normal tithes on production.

Lowry, *Note: WZKM*, 73 (1981), 118, 128, 131.

¹⁶⁰ Zachariadou, *Dionysiou: SOF*, 30 (1971), 1-36. Lowry, *Monastic Properties: BF*, 16 (1991), 275-311.

Chapter 7.

Population and economy in town and countryside

a. the countryside

In the typical environment of a pre-industrial society, such as the one of Southeastern Macedonia in the late Middle Ages, the difference between town and village is rather clear. Furthermore, the definition of a village presents no particular problems in comparison to the town's. The village, which is encountered in the present study under the Greek term of "chôrion" and the Arabic one of "kariye" (in the Byzantine and Ottoman documents respectively), can be simply defined as the rural settlement. In a more comprehensive definition within that social context, the village was the locus where people living out of working on the land were concentrated in order to be close to their basic source of production (i.e. the land) and, at the same time, be organized under social bonds. Under these circumstances, the rural settlement was in fact the essential nucleus of primary production in the broader social context. On the other hand, the town provides the ground for the realization of the secondary and tertiary factors of the economy (manufacture and commerce respectively), the circulation of wealth in the form of goods and money, and the base of power (i.e. the place where the local élite and the representatives of the state concentrate their power and thence diffuse it into the surrounding countryside).

These basic features have been generalized to mark the typical model of rural society within the whole context of Southeastern Europe. Then, with regard to the particular area of the present study, the sources at our disposal can give ground to a discussion on how these norms took shape in the area of our special concern. Fortunately enough, the

available sources permit an insight in the village's economy to a considerable extent, especially on the grounds of the orientation of productive activities.

In so far as the population is concerned, our information is derived from the byzantine *praktika* for the 14th century, and the Ottoman *tahrir-defterleri* for the 15th. With both kinds of sources, however, there are problems and limitations to their use. The Byzantine *praktika* appear to contain records of all members of a household, therefore, in case they cover the entirety of a settlement, they can be regarded as a registration of all of its inhabitants. Nevertheless, the number of surviving *praktika* for the region of the present study is very small; as a result, there is only a very small number of settlements in this region to have been endowed with the precious data they supply. Moreover, there are only three villages, Radolibos, Doxompous and Aeidarokastron, for which we can be sure about their being registered in their entirety and, so, be certain that we know the total size of their population at the times of registration¹. On the other hand, the *tahrir-defterleri* are more inclusive and contain records for most of the settlements of the region. Nevertheless, those sources are not population censuses but tax registers and their very nature determines their limitations when used for the study of the size of population. They contain records of those persons only, who constituted fiscal units; i.e. men at the head of a full household (*hane*), unmarried adults (*mücerred*), or widowed women (*bive*) with their own household. If one wishes to estimate the whole of people represented by the registered fiscal units, it is necessary to resort to the use of multipliers which supposedly correspond to the average number of people in a household at the given time. Moreover, the *tahrir-defterleri*, as tax-registers, included no records of the tax-immune. People who would normally pay taxes, but were exempt for some reason, are usually recorded in these

registers (and the reason of their exemption is usually given). Those persons, however, who were absolutely immune from taxation, i.e. military groups, persons occupying the higher ranks of the administration, religious élite, and, of course, slaves, had no place in such registers. In any case, this is not a matter to be taken into serious account when dealing with villages, for the aforementioned groups of tax immune are more likely to have resided in towns.

As for the multipliers, several scholars have made their own reasonable recommendations. The tone was given by Barkan, who proposed an average of five persons for the *hane*, Muslim, Christian and Jewish alike, but took no account of the *bive* and *mücerred*. Then, H. Lowry suggested that the *bive* figures should not be ignored and, moreover, that they should be viewed as representative of “hidden people” in their own right. He proposed a multiplier of four for the *bive* household, which is the one of the *hane* minus the missing husband². Still, the *mücerred* are not taken into separate account, for Lowry regards them as members of their parent household. N. Beldiceanu and Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr argued in the direction of Muslim polygamy and the consequent possibility of an average Muslim household with more than five people, as proposed by Barkan. In this respect, they increased the multiplier to six for the Muslim *hane*³. Leila Erder has established mathematical formulas to be used in the particular case of each town in order to provide more accurate results. Her methods are only applicable with big numbers of fiscal units⁴. S. Petmezas, correctly I believe, takes the *mücerred* into separate account and adds their number to the estimate he draws up from the *hane* and *bive* figures⁵.

A system for obtaining population estimates out of the registered fiscal units has to be applied to the present study as well. There is no need to revise the multiplier of five for the *hane* and, I believe, it can be used for the Christian as well as the Muslim *hane*. Nevertheless, the multiplier of four that has been used by Lowry for the *bive* seems too big to represent the average number of people in the household of a widowed woman. The widows would normally be expected to be of a relatively old age, and their children to be mostly adult and fiscally distinguishable. The evidence of the *defters* is helpful with this matter. For instance, in some less populated quarters in the town of Serres we encounter two sons of the same father in head of their own households and the household of their mother also recorded in the same quarter⁶. Women as such, whose two sons had their own households cannot be expected to have housed three more people still living in theirs. It is, therefore, necessary to establish a multiplier other than Lowry's "four" for the *bive* household, and this can be done with some degree of credibility by using the average number of persons present in households of widows according to the 14th-century Byzantine *praktika* of the same region. This results in a mean of three (3) which will be used as the multiplier for *bive* households hereafter⁷. I opted also to take the *mücerred* into separate account for the final calculation of the population by adding their number together with the *hane* and *bive* estimates. This is done because the figure of *mücerred* is the only one that corresponds to an actual number of people in contrast to the uncertain categories of *hane* and *bive*. In any case, this story with the multipliers does not aim to full accuracy and preciseness when approaching an approximate figure of size of the population. It is a statistical trick rather that is used for homogenising the data and

converting the different categories of *hane*, *bive* and *mücerred* to a single workable category, that of the population estimate.

The overwhelmingly rural character of the presently studied society has been repeatedly stressed in this study, to the point that it may look like an axiom. In fact a sound proof of this assertion can be based on the evidence of contemporary sources. Once more, the most important contribution comes from the *defters* of the 15th century, as they cover the whole of the region in question and provide workable figures for a large proportion of its total population. A good idea of the region's rural character can be established by comparing the numbers of town-dwellers with those of the people living in the countryside. In the 15th century, the towns of the presently studied region had been reduced from three to two, since Chrysoupolis could no longer be viewed as a town and had declined to a settlement of salt workers. The two remaining towns, Serres and Zichna, appear to contain a population of about 9312 in 1454/55 and 7757 in 1478/79⁸. According to the same registers, the whole of the people living in the villages of the countryside in all three districts of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik amounted to about 36995 in 1454/55 and 40333 in 1478/79⁹. In percentages, the outcome of this comparison is represented by 20.10 % of town-dwellers, against 79.89 % of villagers in 1454/55. Twenty-four years later the respective figures had evolved to 16.13 % and 83.86 %, an increase of the villagers' proportion which was due mainly to the considerable decrease of the population of Serres in the years between the two registrations. This profound numerical predominance of people living in the countryside, almost all of them being by definition peasants, can be enough to underline the rural character of the society as a whole, a point that is further stressed by the agrarian background of urban functions in Serres and Zichna,

and by the more specific fact that many among the townsfolk were primarily involved in agriculture (including the majority of the population in Zichna).

The study of rural settlement in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries poses some particular problems relating to the special conditions of this rather long period. That was an era of transition marked by devastation, though not always of the same cause, and a deep change of ruling bureaucracies. Under these circumstances, the first issue that needs to be dealt with has to be the one of survival and continuity of settlement. The 14th century has long been thought of as a period of turmoil, in the whole more or less of the Byzantine world and Southeastern Macedonia in particular. This belief is deduced from the general context of events and strengthened by some accounts appearing in literary sources. The area of the present study was indeed a theater of military operations on several occasions during the 14th century, beginning with the crossing of the Catalans in 1307/1308, and following with corsair raids in the 1330's, internal strife and Serbian conquest during the Byzantine civil war of the 1340's, and, finally, Turkish raiding that lasted for more than ten years and prepared the Ottoman conquest of the land. All these were accompanied by the plague epidemic that first stroke in the late 1340's and supposedly took a heavy toll of human lives. Having these in mind, one can rather logically regard the 14th century, its second part especially, as a period of demographic decline. Nevertheless, in the absence of precise information no details are known of how the aforementioned events affected this region in real terms and to what degree. This gap in our knowledge can be filled in no other way than by using the documents and extracting whatever useful information they may contain on this matter.

Some basic evidence on demographic developments is given by the very survival or abandonment of rural settlements from the 14th through the 15th century. In this respect, the contribution of 14th-century sources is less inclusive compared to those of the 15th century, since they contain fragments only of information while the latter provide a surveying of the whole region and include records of most settlements existing then. Nevertheless, the documents of the 14th century, irrespective of their fragmentary nature, inform us indeed of a quite big number of settlements existing in those days. After counting all settlements recorded in 14th-century documents the resulting number is 95, a considerable one. The majority of those settlements, a number of 72, are also present in the Ottoman registers of the following century. Consequently, we can speak about a pattern of survival throughout the critical period of the later 14th century. Moreover, the absence of several 14th-century settlements from the Ottoman registers should not be necessarily viewed as an abandonment of the particular settlements. They could have been recorded under a new name instead. As a matter of fact, several cases of renaming are known, and these had taken place most likely in the course of the 14th century before the beginning of Ottoman rule.

As a usual pattern, a village could adopt the name of a local religious foundation, or one deriving from its lord or most important proprietor. For example, the village of Keranitza housed a *metochi* of Ibêrôn monastery, dedicated to the Holy Anargyroi, since early in the 14th century¹⁰. In the registers of the 15th-century there is no longer a mention of Keranitza, but we encounter the village of Ayanargir¹¹. That was the same village, which in the course of time had become known by a new name deriving from the locally important convent of the Holy Anargyroi. In a similar way, the villages of Gastileggous

and Ostrinê had their names changed to Hristos (Christos) and Anastasia respectively, by adopting the names of the local *metochia*, namely Christ the Saviour and St. Anastasia¹². Melintzianê, an old village that was first reported in the 11th century, appears in the 15th century under the new name of Iveras, for its having been for long a possession of Ibêrôn monastery¹³. The 14th-century Ptelea, finally, has been successfully identified with the 15th-century Patriki, having received its new name after it had become a possession of Manuel Aggelos, the patrician, and his family¹⁴.

There were some villages indeed, which existed in the 14th century yet they are certainly known to have been abandoned in the course of time and before the turn of the century. However, these are no more than three and the reasons for their abandonment are known. By coincidence, all those three villages were possessions of Ibêrôn monastery in the region of Mt. Paggaion. Two of them, Obêlos and Dobrobikeia, were no longer existing by 1341, in the year when the local possessions of that monastery were surveyed for registration, as we are informed by the text of the register. Not long ago, the region was struck by Turkish corsairs, coming presumably from one of the coastal emirates of Aydin, Karesi or Menteşe; the two villages were severely hit and those among their inhabitants who escaped slavery left them and settled elsewhere¹⁵. By the way, this is the only known case of a seaborne attack against this region during the 14th century.

Another problem arises by the case of some other villages, which existed in the 14th century, and also in later periods up to the modern day without suffering any name changes, but are not encountered in the two Ottoman registers of the 15th century (they re-emerge later in *defters* as well as in other sources). These are three villages, Achinos, Karianê and Semalton, that one would have expected to find in the TTD-3 and TTD-7,

since the villages existed most probably during those years and these registers are very detailed and include settlements of every kind irrespective of their fiscal status¹⁶. Some explanation can be given in association to the norms of drawing up those registers. The information they contain is arranged in accordance to *timars* and other fiscal categories, and not on a strictly regional basis. In this respect, some settlements or parts of settlements were included in *timars* of districts other than the one where they actually lay, consequently they were recorded in sections of the *defter* less relevant from the geographic standpoint to their actual location. The scribes usually took account of the confusion that might arise and pointed such cases of settlements with the mark *tabi-i* ... in order to indicate their real geographic location. In the present case both of the registers are fragments, as a result some villages of the presently concerned region and existing in those days could have been registered in the now lost sections of the *defters*. This can give an explanation for the absence of the aforementioned three particular villages in the *defters* in contrast to the strong probability for their existence in those days.

Under these circumstances some special attention should be paid when listing the settlements, in order not to miss those that may have been recorded in geographically less relevant sections of the register. The finding and listing of every existing settlement cannot be always possible, especially in cases of fragment registers such as the ones of the present case, and there is always the possibility of settlements of the particularly concerned region to have been recorded in lost sections of the *defter*. However, a thorough study of the whole register, and not of those sections only that concern the particular areas of the study, reduces the under-presentation of settlements to the best of one's capabilities. This is a shortcoming marking the otherwise important and pioneering studies of Prof. Heath

Lowry on the *vilayet* of Keşişlik¹⁷. His examination of that *vilayet* is a thorough one indeed, but, apparently, he did not look at the rest of the *defters* and, as a result, he omitted to include in his lists some data concerned with the region. He missed to point out altogether the village of Kasri (Kastrion), a well-known possession of Chilandar monastery in the past, which was still existing during the 15th century but was included in a *timar* of the district of Zichna. Therefore it can be found in the *defter* sections of that area and not in the pages concerning the *vilayet* of Keşişlik proper as one might reasonably expect. The same happens with the village of Ivrana Kasri (the Branokastro of 15th-century patriarchal documents) too¹⁸. In 1478/79, it was distinguished in two parts, one assigned to a *timar* of the Keşişlik district, the other assigned to a *timar* of Drama. Prof. Lowry having not checked the *defter* pages for the district of Drama provides incomplete figures of population and revenue for that village. The compilation of the lists of settlements, that are used in this study, is based on a checking of the entire registers, in order to provide information as full as possible for the three districts of our particular concern and not to miss data that have been included in less relevant sections.

The number of 200 villages, which the two 15th-century registers provide, is large enough and can be assumed to represent the vast majority of actually existing settlements in those days in the districts of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik. This number excludes the two towns of the region, Serres and Zichna, but includes Chrysoupolis which had lost by then the characteristics of a town it had in previous centuries. In this enumeration are included some settlements too, which are described in the *defters* as *mezraa* but appear to have permanent settlers (the term *mezraa* is normally used to denote uninhabited rural areas).

In the first place, the available demographic data can help to some basic observations on the size of settlements. In arranging those settlements according to their size, it is reasonable to regard those with an approximate population of less than 150 as small, those having between 150 and 500 people as medium-sized and those exceeding 500 people as large. Schematically, the relevant to the present case numbers have as follows:

| <u>Approximate population</u> | <u>Number of settlements</u> | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>In 1454/55</u> | <u>In 1478/79</u> |
| Less than150 people | 83 | 91 |
| 150 – 500 people | 75 | 75 |
| 500 – 1000 people | 15 | 13 |
| More than 1000 people | 1 | 2 |

Apparently, most of the region’s villages seem to have been small ones in the 15th century. This is not surprising, since it conforms to similar conclusions about a normally small average size of villages in previous periods as well, i.e. in the late Byzantine era (13th and 14th centuries)¹⁹. The evidence exposed above points at a continuity of this norm during the 15th century, at least in the region that is subject of the present study. This model, of many generally small villages instead of fewer big ones, can be comprehended by taking into consideration the material conditions of life in the countryside during those years. In such a typically rural area the size of the village depends on resources. The villages cannot be large since their settlers have limited technical means and can have practical access to the nearby resources only. By being unable to move over a long distance between lodgment and field every day, the human surplus of a village whose rural area is fully exploited and no longer sufficient, has to leave it and move to a new

settlement with easy access to vacant lands. The richer the vicinity of a village, the more populous the village. As a matter of fact, two of the bigger villages in this region, Katô Brontou and Trilission, were in those years important centres of iron mining and processing, an alternative economic activity which supported a quite large population in combination with the ever-present agriculture.

On the crucial matter of long-term demographic developments, from the 14th through the 15th century, what might be an important contribution is a comparison between the population of the few villages which are endowed with such a kind of records for the 14th century with the relevant figures of 1454/55 (year of the earliest 15th-century records) for the same villages. This has as follows:

| <u>Name of village</u> | <u>14th-century population</u> | <u>Population in 1454/55</u> |
|------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| Radolibos | 865 (1316), 1055 (1341) | 640 |
| Doxompous | 409 (1317) | 519 |
| Aedarokastro | 77 (1317) | 192 |
| Krousobo | 85 (1318) | 254 |
| Eunouchou | 71 (1318) | 320 |
| Melintzianê | 34 (1318) | 94 |
| Chandax | 20 (1333) | 288 |

As this comparison demonstrates, among these particular villages only Radolibos had suffered a decrease of its population, unlike the rest which seem to have had their population increased, most of them to a considerable degree. Nevertheless, the 14th-century population figures are incomplete for most of these villages and subject to several limitations that reduce the validity of comparison. Only three among those villages had their population recorded in its entirety at the given times, Doxompous, Radolibos and Aedarokastro. For the rest of the villages the records are incomplete since the related

registers contain part of the village only and not their whole. Moreover, the village of Aeidarokastro, which is fully recorded in 1317, was a new and recently settled village in that year²⁰. Therefore, there is a possibility for a further increase of its population by the settling down of more people in the years after 1317. In this respect, the records of the year 1317 for that village cannot be regarded as representing its typical demographic measure during the first half of the 14th century.

Consequently, this comparison of population figures of the 14th and 15th centuries for the same villages cannot lead to unquestionable generalized conclusions for the whole of the region that concerns us in the present study. The survival of practically comparable data for only two villages is not sufficient to this. Nevertheless, this is still some important evidence. Turning back to the generally accepted view of a demographic decline during the latter part of the 14th century, the available evidence for Radolibos is conforming while that of Doxompous is contradicting. Yet, the general historic context of the later 14th century is so strongly indicative of a demographic crisis and decline that cannot be simply ignored. Moreover, Radolibos did have its population reduced by 39 % between 1341 and 1454/55 and Boriskos, a 14th-century settlement that was founded on rather difficult high ground²¹, was abandoned in some time after 1341 for the obvious reason of vacancy of more exploitable land elsewhere, a mark of demographic decline in the latter place.

More than anything, the survival of most 14th-century settlements into the following century supports the suggestion that whatever demographic decrease occurred there, it was not so heavy to result in an overwhelming transformation of the local population. One can rather safely assume that those people who lived in the settlements of the countryside

during the 15th century were in their majority descendants of those who had settled the same villages in the previous century.

After a period of supposed demographic decline, from the middle of the 14th century onwards, the pattern seems to have not yet been fully reversed one century later. The two registers that are used in this study are full of evidence of a quite precarious and equivocal demographic situation for the 24-year period they cover. In fact, the movement of population does not appear to have followed similar patterns in the whole of the region. In several settlements the populations increased between 1454/55 and 1478/79, in others it declined, though the total figure for the whole region is increased. The total figure of estimated population for the three *vilayets* rose from 36995 in 1454/55 to 40425 in 1478/79. In respect of separate villages, a decrease is present in 83 while the population had risen in 74²².

Another suspect point and mark of the unstable demographic condition of the region in the mid-15th century lies in the high proportions of widows among the numbers of registered persons of many villages in 1454/55, an exact case as in the towns of the region in the same year. Moreover, in a similar way to the town of Serres, the proportion of widows in the village population appears to have fallen in normal levels when the second registration was conducted, in 1478/79²³. As in the case of Serres, the strangely high percentage of widows in several villages, that is observed in the first registration, can be explained by either the possibility of a recent epidemic or by *sürgün* related fiscal tricks²⁴. The evidence from the countryside strengthens the latter option, for the population of the countryside was not so vulnerable to epidemics as the townsfolk.

In order to take into consideration all parameters that affected this two-century long demographic process in Southeastern Macedonia, one should not overlook the factor of Muslim immigration that followed the Ottoman conquest of the land as its direct result. In fact, this is a primarily important aspect of the whole affair, for the arrival of Muslim settlers could have counter-balanced the decline of the local Christian population that probably took place in the decades preceding the Ottoman conquest and after. Indeed, a large community of Muslims is present in the town of Serres by the mid-15th century and a less numerous in Zichna. As for the villages of the region, they housed several Muslim families amidst the Christian population. In the countryside, those Muslims who are registered in the *defters* appear to have acquired the formal status of tax-paying peasants (*reaya*), but in contrast to their Christian counterparts they were exempted from land-usage payments (i.e. the *resm-i kulluk*) in 1454/55 with one single exception that is cited below. Twenty-four years later the Muslim peasants of the region were no longer exempt from the levy on land-usage and all were liable to the *resm-i kulluk* in a similar way as the Christian ones were to the *ispençe*²⁵.

There is record of one village only with a wholly Muslim population, the village of Ilisa, whose inhabitants were liable to *resm-i kulluk* from 1454/55 already, unlike the other Muslim peasants elsewhere in the region²⁶. Ilisa constitutes the single exception of a wholly Muslim village that is recorded in the entire region. Many other villages had no Muslims at all among their inhabitants, while the mixed ones are marked by a vast majority of Christians²⁷. As a whole, the percentage of Muslim peasants in the three *vilayets* is as follows:

| | <u>1454/55</u> | <u>1478/79</u> |
|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>Vilayet</i> of Serres | 1.98 % | 4.34 % |
| <i>Vilayet</i> of Zichna | 5.29 % | 5.91 % |
| <i>Vilayet</i> of Keşislik | 2.19 % | 3.17 % |

The origins of those Muslim peasants may be a subject open to question, whether they were migrants or local products of islamization. As a matter of fact, conversion took place in the countryside but there can be no certainty for that be the prime factor to the emergence of a Muslim peasantry side by side with the Christian one in Southeastern Macedonia. In the case of Radolibos we observe an important increase in the number of Muslims in the year 1478/79 compared to 24 years earlier. The number of Muslim households rose there from two households in 1454/55 to six in 1478/79, for which Prof. Lowry has proposed an explanation based on islamization, regarding three out of the four newly registered Muslims as converts²⁸. Nevertheless, the evidence of the *defter* is not conclusive to such an assertion. Only one out of those three persons was a convert (Ali veled-i Abdullah its name), the other two, Musa and his brother Iskender, are described by no patronymic or any mark of conversion, so one cannot be certain of their origins; they can also be supposed to have been migrants.

What is of importance here is the demographic measure of the region, therefore the discussion on the origins of the Muslim peasantry is used for illuminating this aspect in a more conclusive manner. If all Muslims of the countryside had been those peasants who are recorded in the *defters* and represent a small minority of the whole population, then the matter of Muslim migration would have not seriously affected the demographic

development of the region. This is not the case, however, and one should be certain of the presence of more Muslims in the countryside who are absent in the *defter* pages. Those were the Yürüks, Anatolian semi-nomads of a special legal and fiscal status who are normally excluded from the *tahrir-defter* registrations. Yürüks existed indeed in Southeastern Macedonia. According to the chronicle of Uruç, the first Yürüks were settled in the district of Serres directly after it was conquered and came from the region of Saruhan²⁹. Their presence is pointed out once more in the 15th century, when a rather big group of Muslims making up 31 households was settled in the village of Toumpa between 1454/55 and 1478/79 turning that village to the one with the biggest Muslim population. Those were of a Yürük background but their establishment in that village was accompanied by an acquirement of proper peasant status and this is the reason for their inclusion in the register of 1478/79³⁰. The reference of Uruç and the evidence from Toumpa are the only existing references to Yürük presence in Southeastern Macedonia during the early Ottoman period. In any case, this evidence is not sufficient to give some clear idea on the actual proportions of Yürük presence. The absence of special records pertaining to the Yürüks from those years results in our inability to assess the degree to which their presence affected the demographic measure of the region.

The material conditions of the life of those people depended on their use of the land, which constituted the economic base of the local society in the countryside. A well comprehensive picture of how the economic structures were organized, as well as of the orientation of productive activities, is first given by the Byzantine documents of the 14th century. Since most of the information they contain concerns the categories of rural property, one can easily determine and evaluate the relevant productive activities. In this

respect, a primacy of crops, viticulture, and fishing in some places, is apparently expected while a complementary role in the region's economy is played by vegetable and orchard gardening, animal breeding and beehive-keeping. The kind of information that is provided by the Byzantine documents does not usually specify the particular subjects of cropping but a general knowledge of the period's agricultural economy is sufficient in suggesting a primacy of cereals.

The contribution of Ottoman registers is once more fundamental to this point. The particular registers that are used in this study, as they are both of the *mufassal* type, they enlist the products and revenue generating activities, as they are reflected in taxation, in most of the villages existing in that period. In conducting this study, the earliest of these registers, the TTD-3, has been used for an overall reconstruction of the economic situation in the whole of the presently concerned region, i.e. the *vilayets* of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik. By taking into account the figures of registered fiscal revenues in all villages and adding them up, we can reach the total amounts of the region and then check the share of each group of products and other economic activities out of the whole figure of revenue³¹. Moreover, for obtaining a clearer picture of the orientation of productive activities, we can distinguish the identifiable settlements with regard to their localization in the geographic sub-districts of the region. Having done this, we can check to what degree the region's general patterns apply in every sub-district and whether local alternatives had any importance in each district's economy.

With respect to geography and physical environment, the whole of the presently-studied region can be further distinguished in eight sub-districts. The first sub-district we distinguish is the plain of Serres (SP), i.e. the flat land that extends west and south-west of

the town. Then, as West Bank of Strymon (SWP) we mean the continuation of the plain of Serres beyond the river. Other particular areas within this region include the surroundings of the lake of Achinos (AL); the valley of the river Aggitês (AV), i.e. the main tributary of the Strymon at its lower course; the piedmont of Mt. Paggaion (PP); the piedmont of Mt. Menoikion (MP); the highlands (HL), i.e. the area of Menoikion and Brontou mountains; finally, the area of foothills between Mt. Paggaion and the sea, which is here described as coastal, together with the Strymon delta (CD). The following table shows the share of all categories of products and other economic activities to every district's whole revenue, as well as in the whole of the region:

| | SP | SWB | AL | AV | PP | MP | HL | CD | whole region |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------------|
| villages | 8 | 19 | 10 | 12 | 7 | 24 | 7 | 6 | 174 |
| wheat | 35.01% | 31.65% | 22.68% | 34.15% | 16.72% | 27.99% | 14.58% | 29.74% | 28.58% |
| other cer. | 20.47% | 19.47% | 11.01% | 12.16% | 7.27% | 12.42% | 7.27% | 10.46% | 16% |
| legumes | 0.76% | 1.77% | 0.35% | 0.80% | 0.90% | 0.77% | 0.01% | 1.09% | 0.84% |
| garden | 0.48% | 0.14% | 0.51% | 0.31% | 0.16% | 1.59% | 0.45% | 0.47% | 0.64% |
| dry-fruit | - | 0.24% | 3.06% | 0.36% | 2.42% | 1.36% | 0.06% | 0.17% | 0.91% |
| fresh fruit | 0.02% | 0.22% | - | 0.11% | 0.41% | 1.54% | - | 0.05% | 0.53% |
| flax | 0.25% | 0.76% | 0.41% | 0.23% | 0.62% | 0.32% | 0.79% | 0.12% | 0.61% |
| cotton | 0.08% | 0.18% | 1.74% | 5.05% | 1.22% | 0.31% | - | 0.38% | 1.14% |
| saffron | - | 0.20% | 3.34% | 4.96% | 13.91% | 0.13% | - | 2.40% | 2.14% |
| vines | 7.32% | 10.04% | 10.54% | 16.61% | 23.40% | 17.01% | 5.88% | 20.42% | 13.04% |
| swine | 1.47% | 2.91% | 0.63% | 0.78% | 0.61% | 1.20% | 0.61% | 0.61% | 1.49% |
| sheep | - | - | - | - | - | 0.74% | 0.19% | - | 0.24% |
| beehives | 1.10% | 1.89% | 0.54% | 0.73% | 0.38% | 0.51% | 0.79% | 2.08% | 0.90% |
| mill | 1.01% | 1.67% | 1.81% | 0.57% | - | 0.16% | 0.23% | 0.77% | 0.84% |
| fishery | 5.45% | 5.58% | 23.03% | - | 0.10% | - | 0.93% | 11.18% | 3.45% |
| fair | - | - | - | 0.10% | 3.61% | - | 0.51% | - | 0.55% |
| mine | - | - | - | - | - | - | 34.50% | - | 1.69% |
| other | 27.52% | 23.19% | 20.28% | 22.99% | 28.19% | 33.88% | 33.13% | 19.75% | 27.47% |

Wheat is preferred to be recorded separately from the rest of cereals, in order to show its overall dominance among all other products and economic activities. The category of legumes includes lentils (*mercimek*) and two kinds of beans, ordinary (*bakla*) and black-eyed (*nohud*); the category of dry-fruit includes mostly walnuts and, occasionally, almonds

and chestnut, whereas mulberries, pears, figs, cherries and, probably, apples are labeled here as fresh-fruit. The general category of other revenues has mostly to do with payments irrelevant to production, such as the standard charges of *ispençe* and *resm-i kulluk*³², which were normally imposed on the peasants, and occasional charges like the tax on weddings (*arus*) and fines (*niyabet*). In this category are also included some rare and marginal products, which correspond to very small shares of the whole revenue, i.e. silkworm, olives and animals other than swine and sheep. The product of foodstuff crops, cereals and legumes, was everywhere levied in kind, nevertheless, the *defters* provide the monetary value of the levy, which has been used here for calculating the share of those products to the figures of whole revenue.

The conclusions that are derived from the Byzantine documents are further solidified by the information of the Ottoman registers, particularly the TTD-3, which supplies the information for the table above. In fact, crops and viticulture continued to constitute the dominant economic activities, with animal-breeding and the maintenance of gardens (vegetable and orchard) and beehives occupying a supplementary position. Fishing too played an important role wherever the locals were able to involve themselves in such an activity.

Dominant among the crops is that of cereals, as one can safely expect in accordance to the standards of the period. Wheat was cultivated by the people of every settlement in the region, yet the other kinds of grain too, i.e. barley, oats, rye, millet, appeared, all or some of them, everywhere. Millet in particular, apart from its uses in human diet or as fodder, was also used for the production of *boza*, a lightly alcoholic drink, that was known in this region as it is proved by the existence of a refinery (*bozahane*) in the town of Serres³³.

The cultivation of the aforementioned kinds of grain was a long-established practice in this region and the more or less clear picture of their predominance in the 15th-century sources allows us to presume the situation to have been no different in the previous century. This point is strengthened by 14th-century evidence for Radolibos and Doxompous confirming the production of wheat and barley by their inhabitants³⁴. However, there is a kind of cereal, rice, which seems to have been an unknown product in this region before the Ottoman conquest, and whose cultivation to have been an innovation connected to the emergence of the Muslim element among the population. The area is favourable to the cultivation of rice, since marshy waters are present in several places. As it was common, communities of rice-producing peasants existed near every town with a significant Muslim population, and according to early Ottoman practices the producers of rice (the *çeltükçiyân*) were specialized peasants of a privileged status in terms of taxation. In 1454/55 there is no particular reference to the producers of rice or to any special arrangements with concern to them. There are simple references in the TTD-3 about the production of rice in the village of Notışani, where it was taxed to the value of 4000 *aspers*, and by the only three households that were present in the very small village of Çeltükçi³⁵. In confirmation to the name of the village, its few inhabitants produced nothing else but rice. The village of Notışani, the main rice-producing locality in the region in 1454/55, cannot be identified, however one can reasonably expect that it lay close to stagnant waters, otherwise the cultivation of rice would not be possible. Twenty-four years later, the producers of rice, Muslims and Christians alike, seem to have had acquired a special status among the peasantry, since they are registered separately in the *defter*, as the community of *çeltükçiyân*, irrespective of the settlement of their residence. They

numbered 10 Muslim and 38 Christian households and were distinguished in two groups, each of them controlled by a *re'is* entitled to charge them in kind and cash³⁶.

As we observe in the table cited above, the primary position of cereals is lowered in some areas as a result of alternative economic activities with a local importance. The first among them is viticulture, which in general occupies the second place in the whole region's economy, with a share of 13.04 % of the region's total figure of revenue. The gap between cereal and vine production is bigger in the plain of Serres and the west bank of Strymon, while their share of revenue appears to be almost equal in the villages of the piedmont of Mt. Paggaion. This can be explained, first, by reason of geography and physical environment. In villages located in the open plain, their inhabitants have access to flat lands in every direction, thus, they can give more emphasis to crops. On the contrary, the villages, which are located at the piedmont of a mountain, Mts. Paggaion and Menoikion in the present case, have their back on the hills, where the terrain is not everywhere suitable for field cropping. As a result, their inhabitants resorted to viticulture, which can be realized on more difficult grounds compared to cropping. This is apparent in the case of the villages of the Menoikion piedmont and the coastal area of foothills, where vineyard production corresponds to a quite high share of revenue.

In the area of the Paggaion piedmont, the share of the output of vines is even higher and its gap to that of cereals almost closed for the same reason as in the previous cases, plus one more. That is, the locally important involvement in the production of saffron, which further lowered the share of cereals upon the area's total output.

In so far as the importance of viticulture in the region's economy is concerned, one should be aware about the partiality of our sources of data in this respect. The output of

13.04 %, which is derived from vine production, corresponds to two sources of revenue for the fiscal grantees. The first, commoner and yielding the most is the “tithe on vineyards” (*‘öşr-i bağat*), which was usually levied in kind, at a monetary value of five *aspers* per *medre* of wine, and amounted to a share of 12.90 % of the region’s total figure of revenue in 1454/55. The second is the so-called *monopoliye*, i.e. the practice of monopolizing the rights of selling wine in favour of some among the fiscal grantees. As it is generally known by the evidence of *kanunnames*, the *monopoliye* was a right of selling wine in monopolized conditions, that was accorded to some of the fiscal grantees for a given period of time (up to two lunar months) and up to the amount of credit that was prescribed for each of them and was recorded in the *defters*³⁷. This right of monopolized sales had effect against the peasants that were assigned to the grantee, i.e. they were not allowed to sell wine during the period the monopoly was in effect. The latter case makes evident that the peasants too sold wine. This is not surprising since vines occupied a high position in local agriculture, so their product would normally contribute to peasant revenue raising.

Nevertheless, the tithe was not everything that the peasants had to pay for the production of their vines. Like the rest of the taxes that are recorded in a *tahrir-defter*, the *‘öşr-i bağat* belonged to one category of taxes, those that were collected by whoever was entitled to the fiscal revenue from the settlement as an assignment. The taxes that, under usual circumstances, were directly addressed to the central treasury, i.e. the *haraç*, were normally not included in the records of those registers. There are some exceptions in the TTD-3, which can serve as important evidence to this matter. In the cases of three villages that were held under *mülk* and *vakıf* status, Meryani, Sarmusakli and Chandax, the

payments belonging to the category of *haraç* were collected by the owners of the villages and for this reason they are included in the records of the *defter*³⁸. From this evidence we are informed that, apart from the tithe on vineyards, there was another tax related to vine production, the *cizye-i bağat*, which together with the *cizye* proper would be reserved for the central treasury. This happened indeed in all other villages of the region with the aforementioned three ones being exceptional cases (24 years later there were no longer *defter* records of those taxes for the particular villages which means that their holder's privilege to collect the *cizye* was over in favour of the central treasury). The evidence of the existence of another charge on vineyard production side by side with the tithe is important in emphasizing much further the importance of viticulture in the region's economy. If the tithe on vineyards amounted by itself to 12.90 % of the whole recorded revenue in 1454/55, the known existence of another non-recorded tax related with viticulture attests an even bigger share of this activity in the region's agricultural production.

In contrast to the tithe which was mostly levied in kind, the *cizye-i bağat* was levied in cash and this is easily explicable, for the agents of the central treasury could receive no other payment. On the other hand, the recipients of the tithe, more often in kind, had a quantity of product at their disposal, which it was their task to channel into the market. That they did this, it is obvious since the vast majority of fiscal grantees (i.e. *has* and *timar* holders, *mülk* owners, *vakıf* stewards) were Muslim, which excluded the possibility that they hold the wine for self-consumption. Under these circumstances, the *monopoliye* is an easily understandable practice. The recipients of wine in form of tithes were supposed to

sell it and the state often helped them by granting them the privilege of monopolizing the sales for a given period of time.

The importance of viticulture is manifest in the 14th century already when vineyards constituted the principal element of peasant property (in a period when the fields of arable were normally held by the lords)³⁹. A widespread economic activity, viticulture appears to have been realized in 129 out of a whole number of 174 rural settlements registered in the *defter* of 1454/55. However, the existence of 35 settlements where viticulture appears to have not been exercised, more precisely to have not been exercised at a level worthy of taxing, confronts any conclusions about the universality of the practice that can be derived from the evidence of the 14th-century Byzantine documents. The absence of viticulture can be safely explained in the cases of two villages, Ilise and the very small one of Çeltukçi, two villages inhabited exclusively by Muslims who were forbidden by religion to consume wine⁴⁰.

Another product with a considerable importance in some parts of the region is saffron. Its cultivation was localized and was mostly realized in the surroundings of the lake of Achinos, the valley of Aggitês and the piedmont of Mt. Paggaion. In the last area especially, its production amounted to a significant output, which, together with viticulture, reduced the primacy of cereal production to a significant degree. Being a source of a cooking spice, as well as an important colouring substance for textiles, saffron was cultivated as a cash crop, and was probably produced in abundant quantities to be sufficient for the demands of the commerce and industry of Serres and Zichna.

The other cash crops are equally represented by plants supplying raw material for the manufacture of textiles, more precisely, flax, cotton and silkworms (the last one being

technically not a crop can be included in the category of textile related activities). Some emphasis was given to the cultivation of cotton in the well watered areas of Achinos lake, Aggitês valley and Paggaion piedmont, though its importance and output was much lower compared to saffron, which was produced in exactly the same areas. In comparison to cotton, which was produced in 56 villages, flax was more common and its cultivation a more widespread practice in geographic terms. Flax was produced in 87 out of 174 settlements recorded in 1454/55 without any significant variation of its output from one district to another. It was an especially useful crop for, apart from linen, it was the source of linseed oil (*bezir*), the latter being particularly important in every-day life as flammable, lubricant, and generally in all non-dietary uses of oil⁴¹. Nevertheless, the proportion it represented out of the region's whole revenue is a slight 0.61 % and corresponds to a modest share of the whole product in every village it was produced.

The cultivation of silkworms and the resulting production of raw silk are reflected in some *defter* entries on a charge on cocoons (*kukul*)⁴². In fact, records of that charge are very rare and wherever they appear they concern very modest amounts of revenue (0.12 % of the region's whole), which suggests a marginality of silkworming and raw silk production in this region. This can be contrasted, however, by the rather common records of mulberry trees, which appear to have been grown in many among the villages of the region. In consequence to the common appearance of mulberry trees, one would logically connect their growing with silkworming and suppose that silkworming was more widespread than suggested by the direct evidence of the *defters*. Nevertheless, a supposition as such is treated cautiously here, for, in so far as a charge on cocoons was effective in the very few cases that are mentioned in the *defters*, it would normally have to

be applied in every case of silkworm cultivation. Therefore, it is not safe to relate the presence of mulberry trees with a supposed silkworming activity, unless there is some sound evidence to this (e.g. a record of a charge on cocoons). In all other cases, mulberry trees can be expected to be grown simply for their fruit.

The product of flax, cotton and saffron cropping, as well as silkworming, could be of no other use to the direct producers than channeling it into the market. Those products could not be processed in the villages of the countryside and took their way to the industry and market of Serres, and to a lesser degree of Zichna. However, for some of those products, the quantities of locally produced raw material do not seem sufficient to fully meet the demand of such a grown market as that of Serres. This is certain for silk, which was so marginally produced in this region that the silk sellers of Serres would certainly have to deal with imported stuff mostly. Even cotton and flax correspond to so low shares of the whole fiscal revenue that the level of production was probably not high enough to meet the commercial standards of Serres, which suggests a pattern of importation for these products too. On the contrary, saffron seems to have been produced in adequate quantities that permitted its exportation. This is attested by the case of Tornikios Giannitsopoulos, the Serrean merchant who supplied his Ragusan partners with saffron in 1426⁴³.

At this point, after having completed the discussion of agricultural activities, it is the appropriate moment to interrupt the examination of alternative economic activities of localized importance and see, under a whole region perspective, the second basic aspect of a rural economy, i.e. animal breeding. Much lower in importance compared to agriculture, animal breeding generally appears to have played a secondary and supplementary role in

the economy of the sedentary communities. Consequently, it amounted little to the fiscal revenue that was derived from this region. As the examination of the elements of peasant property in the 14th century has already revealed, several among the peasants, but not all of them, were in possession of one or two cows, a few pigs and, less commonly, of a rather small herd of sheep and goats⁴⁴. According to the *defter* records, the most common charge relating to animal breeding and one which is present in most villages of the region is the tax on swine (*resm-i hınzır*). While swine was bred only for its meat, and for this reason the Muslim peasants abstained from breeding any, sheep and goats were mainly bred for their wool, milk and the related dairy products.

Sheep herds under peasant possession appear to have been especially rare in 1454/55 and there are four villages only where there is a record of the usual charge on them, the *resm-i agnam*, making a slight 0.24 % of the region's whole revenue. Interestingly, even in highland settlements the pattern seems to have been the same and sheep breeding not to be represented among the other fiscal revenues. However, the evidence of the *tahrir-defters* has to be treated cautiously in such a subject as sheep breeding, because if someone relies exclusively on their data can get a distorted picture on this matter. A *tahrir-defter* would normally supply information on the herds that were held by ordinary settled peasants and, as we know from the evidence of the 14th century, those peasants were rather few and with small herds. People who were exclusively occupied in sheep breeding and were in possession of bigger herds appear in the person of transhumant shepherds, who constituted a socially and fiscally distinct category of the population and, under normal circumstances, were not registered in those *defters*. Their presence in this region is obvious, for the peasant held herds would have been completely insufficient to meet the

needs in wool and dairy products of the whole region, including the two towns. Furthermore, the existence of transhumant shepherds and their herds is attested by indirect evidence of the *defters*, as these include records of charges on pasturage (*otlak*, *kışlak*, *yatak*) that the fiscal grantees of some villages were entitled to collect⁴⁵. Since, in those cases, the peasants of the respective settlements do not appear to have held herds of their own, those charges were apparently imposed on herds coming occasionally or seasonally to the location and being held by transhumant shepherds, that were excluded from the *tahrir-defter* registrations.

Some idea on those bigger herds and their full-time shepherds can be attained from the specific references, contained in the TTD-3 and TTD-7, to some herds that constituted sultanic property, were controled by the stewards of the sultanic domains in the district of Zichna and, for this reason, are recorded in the relevant pages of the *defters*. Those shepherds numbered 13 households in the village of Graçani and 18 in the village of Balihor in 1454/55, with their numbers having been reduced to six in each of those villages in 1478/79. Each of them held a herd of sheep ranging in number from 77 to 210, for which they were liable to a rent in cash⁴⁶.

Another localized activity and subject to geographic and environmental conditions is fishing, which was of an especial importance in the places it could be realized. Though, in technical terms, fishing is irrelevant to farming, it is considered as an aspect of the agrarian economy since it has to do with the production of foodstuff. Wherever it was practiced, it gave to the peasants a good opportunity to improve their diet, as well as to increase their income, since a fish market existed indeed in the town of Serres⁴⁷. The Byzantine documents of the 14th century contain records of fishing activity in villages of the vicinity

of Achinos lake, namely Doxompous, Bernarous, Geôrgêla, Esphagmenou, and Tzainou. In Doxompous especially, which is fortunately endowed with more detailed data, the fiscal output of fishing almost doubled that of all other products and activities and all local families were in possession of a fishing-boat, exclusively or jointly⁴⁸. The pattern seems not to have changed in the following century, as in the vicinity of the lake fishing was the most profitable economic activity in 1454/55, amounting to a share of revenue even higher than that of wheat, though not of all cereals together.

Another area, where fishing appears to have played an important role in local economy is the delta of Strymon. In the district, which is here described as coastal including the delta, fishing amounted to 11.18 % of the whole revenue in 1454/55, however, this figure corresponds to the practicing of fishing in one village only, among those that are included in this group. More precisely, fishing was practiced only in the village of Chandax (Hendike) and appears not to have been exercised in the other villages of the coastal districts according to the records of 1454/55. Even so, the output of fishing in Chandax was as high as 3000 *aspers*, 50.33 % of the village's whole revenue, so that it affected to a considerable degree the proportions of revenue over the whole district in which we have included it. This predominance of fishing, that we observe at Chandax in 1454/55, represents an aspect of continuity from the previous century, as fishing had an equally primary role then which is apparent in a surviving *praktikon* of c. 1333 for that village. Fishing played an equally important role in the neighbouring village of NêSION too, during the 14th century, and continued to do so in the following century, as it did in Chrysoupolis, the third settlement of the Strymon delta. Nevertheless, Chrysoupolis and NêSION have not been taken into account when drawing up the table of revenues for the coastal region,

because of their absence in the TTD-3 of 1454/55. It is the later register instead, the TTD-7 of 1478/79, which informs us about their continuing existence in the 15th century.

Apart from the villages of the vicinity of lake Achinos and those of the Strymon delta, the Ottoman registers reveal the practicing of fishing in other parts of the region too, but there fishing played a minor role in the local economy. In places laying far from the lake or the sea, the settlers of those villages took advantage of the proximity of other water bodies, e.g. rivers or streams, that made the exercising of fishing possible, in order to include it in their productive activities⁴⁹.

The exercising of fishing is attested in the Ottoman registers by a generalized reference to a charge on fisheries (*dalyan*) without any details about the nature and method of fishing in each particular place. This point is better illuminated by the Byzantine documents of the 14th century which give information on the different ways that fishing was exercised. In Doxompous, the villagers owned boats, which they used for fishing in the closely distant lake of Achinos, and the same can be supported for the other villages of the vicinity of the lake. In a similar way, boats were used for fishing by the inhabitants of the villages of Chandax and NêSION, according to evidence from the year 1333, but, in this case, the boats were used for fishing in the sea⁵⁰. While boat fishing was practiced in villages with easy access to the lake or the sea, elsewhere they adopted more articulate methods for making fishing possible. By taking advantage of the proximity of a river or stream, they dug channels for introducing fish (the so-called “*alieutika aulakia*” of the Byzantine texts)⁵¹. Among the persons who practiced fishing, those who owned drug-nets (*grypos* in medieval Greek) and, consequently, made better catches, were demanded to

pay a special charge that was effective in the 14th century and later retained by the Ottoman authorities under the same name, *resm-i iğrib*⁵².

Closely related to fishing seems to have been, in this region, the practice of charging harbouring dues. Harbouring dues, the Byzantine *skaliatikon*, which survived the Ottoman conquest as the *iskele* charge, were charged in favour of the fiscal grantees of some villages closely distant to the lake of Achinos and also at the coastal settlement of Chrysoupolis⁵³. In the former case, the harbouring charges are connected with fishing and included in the amount charged for the fishery. Having this in mind, we can expect that in those places harbouring had to do exclusively with fishing boats, a fact that further underlines the practicing of boat fishing by the inhabitants of the vicinity of the lake. Chrysoupolis is a different case, as the harbouring charges are separated there from those on fishing, therefore, it seems that the harbouring facilities of Chrysoupolis were used by other vessels too and not by fishing boats only.

Apart from fishing, another economic alternative of an especial local importance is mining. Since ancient times, Southeastern Macedonia was rich in minerals and the wider region of Serres hosted some reserves of iron which were exploited in the late middle ages. This was especially true for the district of Sidêrokastro (Demir-hisar) with the town owing its name to local iron mining. Sidêrokastro and its surrounding district are not included in the area of the present study, but iron also existed in the area of Brontou Mts., to the north of Serres, the “highlands” of our classification, which made part of the *vilayet* of Serres during the 15th century and, for this reason, is appropriately examined here.

The earliest records of iron mining in this region date from 1346, when Stephen Dušan entitled the monastery of Grand Laura to the collection on an annual basis of some

quantity of iron from the mines of Trilission and Brontou, as well as a quantity of salt from the salt-pits of Chrysoupolis⁵⁴. More information about the systematic mining of iron in the area of Brontou mountains is given by the two *tahrir-defters* of the 15th century. According to this evidence, mining was realized in the villages of Trilission (Trliç), Upper Trilission (Gorne Trliç), Brontou, Katô Brontou, Istarcista and Oksa⁵⁵. The relevant references in the *defters* concern revenues that were generated first by the extracting and processing of iron, through the operation of smelting furnaces (kure) and water-forges (the so-called “samakov”, a name they took by the iron producing area of Bulgaria where they were first encountered by the Ottomans), as well as by the trading of iron that took place in Trilission and Katô Brontou.

Evidently, the highest levels in the production of iron appear in the villages of Trilission and Katô Brontou, where mining occupied a principal position in the local economy. The amounts of revenue that was generated by mining related activities in those two villages and its correspondence to their total figure of fiscal revenue is shown schematically as follows⁵⁶:

| | <u>1454/55</u> | | <u>1478/79</u> | |
|--------------|--|---------------|--|---------------|
| | iron related revenue | total revenue | iron related revenue | total revenue |
| Trilission | samakov: 70 'öſr-i ahen: 7000 | 12778 | baç-i hıdîd: 8000 'öſr-i hıdîd: 27300 samakov: 200 | 43265 |
| Katô Brontou | resm-i hıdîd ve bağ: 3800 resm-i ahenger: 50 resm-i samakov: 180 | 10473 | resm-i samakov: 700 resm-i hıdîd: 19500 | 36446 |

Moreover, those two villages were especially populous, which may be interpreted as a consequence of mining since one can reasonably suggest that mining attracted there

people seeing in it an opportunity to make a living if not a fortune. The village of Trilission in particular had a well grown economy which was due to the production of iron, and the total figure of fiscal revenue from this village rose from 12778 to 43265 *aspers* between 1454/55 and 1478/79⁵⁷. As a matter of fact, the growth of the economy of the village during the 24 years separating the two registrations is mainly due to the high increase of revenues related with iron, probably a result of an intensification of production. Being the richest village of the region in 1478/79, it is not surprising that Trilission was assigned as a *timar* to no other than the *beylerbey* of Rumelia, Davud Paşa, himself⁵⁸.

In the area of those villages, iron was not only extracted from the ground but also processed and traded, as the operation of smelting furnaces and water-forges, as well as the references to a market reveal. In this respect, that aspect of the local economy certainly falls within the area of the secondary and tertiary factors, which can give ground to debate about the character of the settlements, i.e. why are they regarded as villages despite the fact that a considerable part of their economy is irrelevant to agriculture. The principal points of distinction between town and village that are accepted in this study are summarized, first in the occupational diversification that characterizes the population of a town and the professional orientation of, at least, part of it outside agriculture⁵⁹, second the existence of a permanent market. The degree to which these conditions materialize in the particular settlements can determine their real character and identity as villages or small towns. First, in so far as the occupational diversification is concerned, the existing data are not revealing. The certain fact is that several among the inhabitants of those villages were involved in the mining and processing of iron, but there is no evidence to an exclusive character of that occupational orientation. The same persons could have equally

been involved in agricultural activities and this was most likely the case with the villages of Gorne Trliç, Brontou, Istarista and Oksa where mining related activities represent a less important area of their economy. The probability of settlers exclusively occupied in iron related jobs is stronger in the cases of Trilission and Katô Brontou, where the production of iron had reached high levels. Second, with regard to the question of permanent commercial activity, a market of iron existed in Trilission and Katô Brontou, as it is indicated by the record of a charge on the trading of iron (*baç*). Nevertheless, whatever trade existed there was limited in iron and there is no record of a general market. Finally, the answer to whether the possibility that a part of the population was exclusively occupied in iron related jobs and the apparent existence of a market of iron are enough evidence to permit us regard those settlements more as towns than villages is negative. The elements of occupational diversification and commerce that are apparent or suggested there are limited in the subject of iron and do not expand to a broader area of subjects that pertain to the identity of a town. In the particular cases, these correspond to a parallel, non-agricultural, economy in an agrarian context rather than serve as determinants of an urban character. A settlement like Trilission cannot be regarded as a town because it did not function as such. A town played a central role in gathering the surplus product of the surrounding countryside and serving the region's needs in a wider range of processed goods through manufacture and commerce, a role that was not played there.

Turning to some other aspects of the economy of this region, it is well known that in the general context of pre-industrial societies the countryside is characterized by an overwhelming predominance of the primary factor of the economy, i.e. the production of goods directly out of the land. However, there are a few cases of activities falling within

the area of the secondary factor, processing the product of the land, that were present in the context of the rural economy in the countryside. The commonest and most widespread case of processing agricultural product was the grinding of grain, i.e. milling. Milling is indispensable to a rural economy to such a degree that, in the context of economic history, they tend to regard it as part of agriculture, though, strictly speaking it is an “industrial” practice.

In the context of Southeastern Macedonia during the late middle ages, mills had an important role to play in the region’s economy. Milling activity was present in the urban context with several mills existing and operating in the towns of Serres and Zichna⁶⁰, moreover many others are encountered in the countryside, where several villages appear to have had one or more mills in their vicinity. The mills that are recorded in this region belonged in their entirety to the type of water-mill (*asiyab*), something obvious as most of the villages lay close to running water supplied by the many streams and tributaries of the riverine system of the Strymôn and Aggitês. Depending on the levels of water supply in relation to the time of the year, the mills were distinguished in those operating throughout the year and those operating seasonally. Before the Ottoman conquest, the mills were owned mostly by the wealthy lords and landowners and constituted an important asset among their other possessions. Under the Ottoman regime, in most of the cases the mills of the countryside were directly allocated to the fiscal grantees as *hassa*, constituting indeed one of the most usual *hassa* possessions in this region. As an obvious pattern of making use of the mills, the fiscal grantees would lease them to millers in return for the sum they were allowed to raise from their *hassa*. Under those norms, the amount of fiscal

revenue that was generated by milling reached the figure of 6648 *aspers* in 1454/55, a 0.83 % of the region's total figure of fiscal revenue in that year.

The previous discussion serves as an appropriate occasion to deal in a more generalized perspective with the matter of occupational homogeneity in Southeastern Macedonia during the 14th and 15th centuries and the possibilities of involvement in non-agricultural jobs. In the case of Trilission and the other settlements of the area of Brontou Mts., the local economic aspect that lay beyond the confines of agriculture concerned mining and related activities. These were not the only cases of non-agricultural activities sharing in the economy of a village. In the village of Prebista, some of the inhabitants exercised the craft of pottery for which a charge was paid to the fiscal grantee of the place. A record of this charge appears in the register of 1454/55 in the quite significant amount of 430 *aspers* out of a total figure of revenue of 16925.5 *aspers*⁶¹. Pottery was exercised in Radolibos also, since the 14th century already as we are informed by the existence of four potters among the household headmen of that village in 1316⁶². The same craft continued being exercised there in the following century as well, when a charge on it was collected by the fiscal grantee of the village. Nevertheless, pottery occupied then a marginal position in the local economy, as the relevant charge (*resm-i dikgir, resm-i çömlek*) amounted to the minimal figures of 27 *aspers* in 1454/55 and 23 *aspers* in 1478/79⁶³. In relation to this little share of locally generated revenue, pottery certainly played a minor role in the economy of the village and did not affect its rural character in any way.

Furthermore, there is more evidence dating from the 14th as well as the 15th century about some of the inhabitants in several villages who exercised some other craft. More

precisely, there are references to 19 cobblers, six tinsmiths, two tailors, a weaver and two carters in Radolibos in 1316, a tailor and a builder in Melintzianê in 1318, a peddler and a tailor in Doxompous in 1317, a cobbler in Doxompous in 1454/55, three tailors in Krousobo in 1454/55, a weaver in Chandax in 1454/55, which serve as examples to this matter⁶⁴. The presence in some villages of people exercising a craft had a positive effect in meeting local needs and allowing, at the same time, those persons to increase their income. In any case, the practicing of limited artisanal activity and the presence of a few craft exercising persons did not really diversify the local economy from the mainstream of agriculture. This is further underlined by the fact that the craft practicing villagers were first of all peasants, holding rural property and engaged in the usual agricultural jobs for which they were taxed.

Turning our attention to commerce and the role it played in the functioning of the regional economy, the towns, mainly Serres and to a lesser degree Zichna, played the central role in its realization⁶⁵. As a matter of fact, commercial activity was principally exercised in the towns where a permanent and full-range market was in existence. Nevertheless, some commercial activity existed in the countryside too, in the form of fairs that were held in some villages, usually once a year, on the occasion of the festive day of a local church. Those fairs were organized by the persons in charge of the celebrating church and charges were imposed on the output of related commercial activity in favour of both, the organizing church and the state or the fiscal grantee of the place. Most important fair of those held in the presently studied region appears to have been the one that was held in the village of Sotêrichou (or Sotirho, in the district of Keşişlik)⁶⁶. There is no 14th-century reference to the local fair and the organizing church is not known, but, in the 15th

century, the *timar*-holders of that village were entitled to a levy on this fair amounting to 2050 *aspers* in 1454/55 and 2000 *aspers* in 1478/79, representing a proportion of 40.25 % and 25.79 % respectively of their whole revenue from the village⁶⁷. Other known fairs that were held in the 14th century include those that were organized by the churches of St. Paraskeuê at Boriskos (incorporated into the vicinity of Radolibos after the settlement was abandoned), St. George at Trilission, St. Christopher at Prebista, St. Nicholas and the Nativity at Doxompous⁶⁸. Those fairs continued being held during the following century as we are informed by the *defters*, moreover 15th-century references make known some other fairs that took place in the villages of Potholinos, Kaisaropolis, Choudina, Nêsi and Podgoryani. In general, fairs represent a 0.55 % of the region's whole fiscal revenue in 1454/55, thus they occupy a position of lesser importance in the general economic context of the countryside.

With respect to tolls, a relevant charge (*geçüd*) amounting to 400 *aspers* in both of the registrations is recorded as part of the fiscal revenues from the villages of Potholinos and Iveras (Melintzianê)⁶⁹. In the absence of information about the exact subject of this charge, there is a strong probability of relevance to the Byzantine *poriatikon*, i.e. the ferrying charge. To cross rivers such as Strymôn and Aggitês was not an easy task, especially in winter, and largely had to be done at organized ferrying points where a relevant charge would obviously be demanded. The Byzantine documents supply precise information on the existence of ferrying stations at Marmarion, low on the Strymôn, and Benikeia by the river Aggitês⁷⁰. Having these in mind, it is reasonable enough to connect the 15th-century records of *geçüd* to river ferrying and suggest the exercising of control of the relevant stations over the villages of Potholinos and Iveras.

The previous presentation of the economic structures over the whole of the region had to be a synchronic one, since it is based on the data of one register, the TTD-3 of 1454/55, which is the only one that was possible to use in a whole region perspective. Relevant information from the later register of 1478/79 is added for particular aspects of the economy, as well as the testimony of Byzantine sources whenever this was possible and useful. Nevertheless, with regard to the economy of the region, the use of information from the late Byzantine period has, up to this point, been occasional, limited and generalized, as the Byzantine documents do not often provide many details. Things change in the few cases of settlements, which are surveyed in surviving *praktika*. In those cases, the existing information is detailed enough to allow an insight to the settlement's economic structures. Furthermore, if the particular settlement is surveyed in the Ottoman registers, then we can proceed to a comparative study and trace the evolution of the economic structures over a longer period of time. In the present case, the most suitable examples of a settlement that allow a study of the transition of economic structures, from the late Byzantine to the early Ottoman period, are given by the villages of Radolibos and Doxompous. In the case of both villages, a long term comparison is possible, as they are recorded in their entirety in the Byzantine *praktika*, of 1316 and 1317 respectively, and the same can be strongly suggested with respect to the Ottoman *defters* of 1454/55 and 1478/79. Moreover, the data that are derived from both kinds of sources, *praktika* and *defters*, can be used for establishing the provenance and share of fiscal revenue with respect to different economic activities. This task is easy to do with the data of the Ottoman registers, as they represent a system of taxation, which directly corresponds to the levels of production. On the contrary, the late Byzantine system of taxation was

principally concerned with property. Instead of taxing the output of production, they preferred to tax the elements of peasant possession, which only indirectly relates to production as more pieces of property were presumed to result to a higher output. In any case, following Lefort's guidelines and model of calculation, we can distinguish the taxable pieces of property of every household and establish, in rough terms, their share to the household's amount of tax and the standard amount of taxing each piece of property over the whole of the village. More precisely, in both of the villages, the peasants were primarily charged for their vineyards, at a price of one fifth of the *hyperpyron* per *modios* in Radolibos (in some cases one fourth) and mostly one third of the *hyperpyron* in Doxompous. They were also taxed for their draught animals (oxen), at a price of one fifth of the *hyperpyron* per animal in Radolibos and half of the *hyperpyron* in Doxompous. The peasants do not seem to be taxed for their swine and sheep, but, in Doxompous only, they paid one sixth of the *hyperpyron* for each cow. Even after we have calculated the share of the aforementioned elements over the whole amount of peasant tax, part of it still cannot be attributable and seems to represent, to some extent, a token charge irrelevant to pieces of property, since it was demanded even from peasants who appeared to own nothing. Apart from the previous categories of payment, which represented the constituent parts of the basic peasant tax, the *telos*, the peasants of both villages were liable to charges on pasturage (*ennomion*), administrative charges (*charagma*, *kaniskion*), occasional charges and fines (the *aêr*) and, in Doxompous only, fishing, which amounted to more than half of the whole revenue of the village. Apart from those payments in cash, the peasants of both villages were obliged to 24 days of corvée per year for their lords, the monastery of Ibêrôn in the case of Radolibos and the one of Grand Laura in the case of Doxompous.

With respect to crops, the peasants of both villages produced wheat and barley, which they cultivated on the open fields, a property of the settlement's lord, and for which they were charged in kind, in contrast to all other previously mentioned payments that had to be submitted in cash. It is interesting that the amount of product they had to hand corresponded to the numerical value of their *telos*, i.e. the total cash payment of each household. More precisely, every household in Radolibos was liable to a quantity of *annonikoi modioi* of wheat and another one of barley equal to the numerical amount of *hyperpyra* they had to pay for their *telos*. In Doxompous, the relevant quantities of wheat and barley amounted to half the numerical figure of each household's *telos*. Therefore, it seems that, according to the late Byzantine system of peasant taxation, every peasant was in principle expected to deal with cropping, even the widows, and his producing capabilities to be a convergence of his general economic standing. The latter feature was reflected on the amount of tax required from every household as *telos* and mainly determined by the vineyards and other pieces of property we have seen above. In this respect, we can approach the quantity of product that was collected from these two villages as tax, according to the suggested correspondence between *annonikos modios* and modern units of bulk measurement⁷¹, but not the monetary value of those levies in kind, for the *praktika* provide no relevant information.

Unlike the *praktika*, the *tahrir-defterleri* do provide the quantity of product levied in kind, as well as the monetary value of that quantity. What is difficult with the early Ottoman data, is to establish the rate of correspondence between the metric units they mention (*kile* and *mudd* for cereals) with modern ones, as the content of Ottoman metric units differed from one place to another and changed with time. With regard to the

particular registers used here, those responsible for the composition of TTD-3 use a *kile*, which is priced for 25 *aspers*, when used for wheat, and 15 *aspers*, when used for barley. This *kile*, which was of a price much higher than that of Istanbul and, consequently, amounted to a much higher quantity of product, can be the *kile* of Serres, which is mentioned in one occasion only in the later register the TTD-7 being priced then at 48 *aspers*. It is impossible to make suggestions about the content of the *kile* used in the TTD-3 and its correspondence to modern metric units. However, this is rather safe to do with the data of the TTD-7. In the latter register, they use a *kile* priced for six *aspers*, when used for wheat, and *mudd* priced for 120 *aspers* accordingly. Therefore, this is a strong indication that the *kile* and *mudd* that are used in the TTD-7 are those of Istanbul, i.e. a *kile* of wheat usually priced at around five *aspers* and a *mudd* equal to 20 *kile*⁷². As the equivalent in kilograms of the *mudd* of Istanbul is generally known, we can rather safely calculate the quantity of the tax on cereals in Radolibos and Doxompous, as it appears in the TTD-7, and compare it with the relevant figures of the 14th century. In drawing up the relevant tables, which include all the recorded products and economic activities and their share of revenue in Radolibos and Doxompous in the 14th century, as well as in 1454/55 and 1478/79⁷³, it is preferred to separate completely the products of cropping from the other activities, as, in the case of crops products, any comparison in terms of cash output between the 14th and 15th century records is impossible.

With regard to the data of the 14th century, it is interesting to note that the total cash output of Doxompous is almost double compared to that of Radolibos, which can be surprising since Doxompous had less than half the population of Radolidos. Nevertheless, this overwhelming superiority of cash output in Doxompous is easily explained as a

consequence of local involvement with fishing, a resource that, apparently, played the dominant role in the economy of the village.

This exposition of economic activities and sources of revenue in the two villages shows that Radolibos gives a, more or less, typical case of an agricultural economy, while Doxompous is a rather exceptional case due to fishing. After the breaking up of revenues, the comparison in the long term shows that the basic economic structures had remained the same in both of the villages. Fishing remained the predominant economic activity in Doxompous, a consequence of the village's favourable location very close to the lake. It is interesting, that the percentage of fishing as a share of whole revenue (crops excluded) appears at almost the same levels even though an over a century long period separates the surveying of 1317 from those of the 15th century: 46.37 % in 1317, 51.94 % in 1454/55, 44.67% in 1478/79. Viticulture too, retained its importance, though, in Radolibos, its share of total revenue (crops excluded) was reduced from 68.70 %, in 1316, to 26.95 % in 1454/55, but rose again to 43.78 % in 1478/79. Finally, fairs continued to be held in both of the villages, with the one of Radolibos appearing to have risen in importance during the 15th century. In contrast, sheep breeding in Radolibos seems to have considerably declined. From a quite important position it occupied in the local economy in 1316, which is proved by the rather big recorded number of sheep and the rather high output of the charge on pasturage, sheep breeding lost its importance by the 15th century. It did not completely disappear, as the *defter* of 1478/79 contains records of minimal charges on sheep and pasturage, but only played a marginal role in the economy of the village. This absence or marginality of sheep breeding, which is common in all settlements recorded in the 15th

century, can probably reflect a discouragement of settled peasants to breed sheep, as that was the principal occupation of transhumant shepherds or Muslim Yürüks.

With regard to crops products, which is a privileged subject as we can compare the actual quantity of levies submitted in the 14th century and 1478/79, there is a development pointing to a profound intensification of the production. The levy of wheat and barley, to which the peasants of the villages were liable, is characterized by a remarkable increase, even though the population was decreased in Radolibos and rose at not so significant levels in Doxompous during the period in between. Moreover, more charges were imposed on other kinds of cereals and crops products, which were probably produced in the 14th century as well, but not charged for. This profound increase in the taxing of cereals can be explained either by economic reasons alone, as within the Ottoman system the peasants were in direct possession of the fields of arable and, so, they could put more land under cultivation and devote more energy, especially since they were relieved from corvées, or by an Ottoman policy of enforcing a heavier taxation on those products, or even by a combination of both.

The Byzantine *praktika* leave in obscurity the subject of textile related crops. The *praktikon* for Doxompous only gives an implicit information about the production of flax, as it contains record of a local flax mill. About cotton and, especially, saffron, which were principal products in Radolibos as well as in Doxompous in the 15th century, there is no earlier information. Whether they had been produced in the past without being taxed, or was their cultivation introduced after the Ottoman conquest as a consequence of new directions in the textile industry of Serres, is a rather unresolved problem.

From all the evidence that is exposed above, it becomes clear that the economy of the region in the 14th and 15th centuries was oriented in peasant subsistence. Showing a resourceful mind, the inhabitants of the region took advantage of all potentialities that were set by the environment and would resort to fishing or mining if relevant resources were available in order to give supplementary directions to their economy and improve their income. The local peasantry was first of all involved in producing its own foodstuffs, with the predominance of cereal cropping being a result of this priority. The surplus appropriating élites adapted their own interests to this basic norm of the economy by establishing a system of control and taxation that would permit them to make enough profit out of it. However, the method of surplus appropriation and the way of contact vis-à-vis the direct producers changed to a significant degree after the establishment of Ottoman rule.

Under the late Byzantine norms, there were different ways of appropriating the product of cereal and other crops. In the lowland zone of the large compact fields the peasants worked on allotted parcels of land in return of a rent in kind, which, as we show by the cases of Doxompous and Radolibos, numerically corresponded to the basic cash charge, the *telos*, they were liable to. This means that the surplus recipients, the owners of the fields in this case, preferred to receive big quantities of product, which they would push to the market themselves. On the contrary, in the higher lands where the broken fields prevailed, those fields were peasant property and the tax on their production was received in cash by being included in the *telos*. In any case, all the peasants of the region were liable to cash payments, for their *telos*, which included the tax on their vineyard production among others, was necessarily submitted in cash⁷⁴.

Some important changes took place with the introduction of the early Ottoman system. First, with the application of the principle of state ownership of the land, except of the cases of *mülk* and *vakıf* holdings, the large properties disappeared with the resulting vanishing of the late Byzantine landowning élite. In consequence, every peasant family obtained direct possession of the land they worked on, including the fields of arable. In principle, that land was not theirs and, officially, they had the status of tenants of the state. This, however, did not really matter, for their tenure was normally established on a permanent basis and, also, they had the right of transferring it to their heirs.

The direct holding of the arable lands can be viewed as a positive development for the peasants. However, the question whether the situation of the peasants was better within the late Byzantine or the early Ottoman system is difficult to solve. They certainly benefited by the abolition of corvées, but the same cannot be supported with certainty with respect to the other developments. As the cases of Radolibos and Doxompous demonstrate, in the 15th century, the peasants were liable to much higher dues on cereals. Did that represent an improvement of their producing capabilities in consequence to their acquisition of more land and the abolition of corvées, or is it simply a reflection of much heavier taxation? Some improvement of the situation of the peasants could also have been brought by the Ottoman policy of expanding the payments of tax in kind. While, in the late Byzantine period, the levying in cash had gained much ground, which meant an increased pressure on the peasantry, the early Ottoman fiscal practices probably relieved this pressure to some degree. This is of a particular importance with regard to the production of vines, which in the late Byzantine period represented the principal cash payment. The Ottomans, however, preferred to charge part of the production of vines, the tithe, in kind.

Regarding the group of payments that were directed to the fiscal grantees, almost 60 % of the total amount of tax in 1454/55 corresponded to levies in kind (since they included the taxes on cereals, legumes and wine). Nevertheless, a more reliable view of the equilibrium between payments in kind and those in cash can be attained only if we take into account the taxes that were directly reserved for the state, i.e. the *haraç* and the *avariz-i divaniye*. In the case of the three villages, Sarmusakli, Meryani and Chandax, for which records of the *haraç* exist for the year 1454/55, the balance ranges between 67 % and 80 % in favour of the payments in cash⁷⁵. In any case, even the taking of *haraç* into consideration does not diminish the importance of taxing in kind and the still high share of tax output it represents. This is of particular importance with respect to the general condition of the peasants, for cash raising was a difficult task for them and the cash they made was primarily addressed to meeting their fiscal obligations (they needed cash for buying garments and tools too, but only when it was necessary). Their need to raise this cash was served by the “cash-cropps”, which in this region materialized in the production of products necessary in textile manufacture and, most likely, wine.

The early Ottoman practice of keeping up with taxation in kind, and even expanding it, is strongly related to the character and identity of the provincial élite. The latter consisted mainly of *timar*-holding soldiers who needed enough foodstuff supplying for themselves and their military retinue, especially of time enduring foodstuffs for carrying with them in campaign (flour and legumes are ideal in this respect). They obtained those foodstuffs directly from the peasants that were assigned to them, through the practice of taxing cereals and legumes in kind. This is, probably, an explanation of the higher taxation of

cereals we observe in the 15th century, as it is explicitly shown by the cases of Radolibos and Doxompous.

Even after they acquired direct holding of the fields of arable, all peasants were not of the same economic standing. This is evident in the case of the three villages where *haraç* payments are known by the evidence from the TTD-3. In those cases, the scribes have kept specific records of the *cizye* and *cizye-i bağat* each taxpayer had to pay, in contrast to the usual practice of simply providing a collective total figure for every tax. The amount of *cizye* varied between 25 to 140 *aspers* for a *hane* or *mücerred*, while the widows paid lower amounts in average from 20 to 60 *aspers*. Similarly, the *cizye-i bağat* varied between 5 and 136 *aspers* for those in possession of vineyards⁷⁶. These variations are due to a different economic standing marking one family from another with respect to amount of land and number of assets at their disposal. The economic standing of a family depended on the amount of land its members could cultivate and how far they could expand their producing capabilities. This is primarily a question of land since this region did not experience a population pressure in the 15th century and vacant land was a reality.

This latest statement turns the attention once again to the demographic aspect. The overview of the demographic situation of the region in a shorter term, i.e. in the 24-year period of the second half of the 15th century that elapses between the two registrations, is of an especial importance in realizing its economic process in this shorter period of time. While, the basic forms and directions in the long term of the regional economy have been exposed previously, especially in their relation to the fiscal principles of the early Ottoman state, some special comment has to be done with respect to the economic development of the region in the shorter period, between 1454/55 and 1478/79. The conclusions that can

be drawn by the special case of this region are useful in illuminating some aspects of Ottoman policy in the crucial period of Mehmed II's reign.

According to the evidence of the two registers, the amounts of tax paid to the fiscal grantees were increased to a considerable degree. In percentage, the average increase of tax in the whole region is calculated to 51.67 %, from 790,470 *aspers* in 1454/55 to 1,198,962 *aspers* 24 years later, while the population seems to have risen only by 9.27 % in the same period. With respect to particular villages, the overwhelming majority had their total amount of tax increased irrespective of the decreasing numbers of population in many among them⁷⁷. This is not a normal development and cannot be explained by the laws of the economic process alone, since in those years the principal productive factor was no other than human energy. Any significant growth of the economy could not be realized in an environment of slowly growing, stagnant, or even decreasing, population. Therefore, the significantly increased tax output of 1478/79 cannot reflect a growth of the region's economy, but can rather be interpreted as a result of heavier taxation on the population, in consequence to the always increasing financial needs of the Ottoman state for the continuous and large-scale warring it was involved in during the reign of Mehmed II. This is a conclusion that has already been drawn by Prof. Heath Lowry with respect to the *vilayet* of Keşislik⁷⁸, which is further strengthened by similar evidence from the *vilayets* of Serres and Zichna, that have been brought to light for making this study.

Notes

¹ Equally, the villages of Obêlos, Dobrobikeia and Boriskos, all belonging to the domain of Ibêrôn monastery in Mt. Paggaion, are recorded in their entirety in 1316, Boriskos in 1341 too, but we do not take them into account because all were abandoned in the course of the 14th century.

² Lowry, *Selânik*: in Lowry, *Defterology*, 68. *Idem*, *Lesser Wars*: in Bryer-Lowry, *Continuity and Change*, 327.

³ Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Morée: SOF*, 39 (1980), 46-47. Beldiceanu-Nasturel, *La Thessalie: Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 121.

⁴ L. Erder, "The Measurement of Preindustrial Population Changes: The Ottoman Empire from the 15th to the 17th century", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 11 (1975), 294-98.

⁵ S. Petmezas, "Serres et sa région sous les ottomans", in P. Odorico (ed.), *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos prêtre de Serrès en Macédoine (XVII siècle)*, Paris 1996, 459, 461.

⁶ In the *mahalles* of Ayvat and Mahi-i Gebran. TTD-7, 231, 232.

⁷ This result is established after counting all households of widowed women recorded in the Byzantine *praktika* of South-eastern Macedonia, a whole of 84 households, and the whole number of persons they contained, 267 persons. The average number of persons per household is 3.17, which is rounded off to 3.

⁸ Viewed separately, the population figures of Serres were 6453 in 1454/55 and 5170 in 1478/79, and those for Zichna 2859 in 1454/55, 2587 in 1478/79.

⁹ The figures for 1478/79 exclude a group of about 92 people, all of them depended from the *vakıf* of Evrenos, for there is not enough evidence of whether they lived inside Serres or in the village of Toumba.

¹⁰ Arch. St. Jean, n. 11.7-8, p. 66.

¹¹ TTD-3, 178-79. TTD-7, 240-41.

¹² Arch. St. Jean, n. 4.33, p. 45, n. 28.5. TTD-3, 203-205, 476. TTD-7, 142-43, 277-78. See table IXa.

¹³ Act. Iv. III, n. 70.4. TTD-3, 339. TTD-7, 164-65. See table IXa.

¹⁴ Act. Chil., n. 23.7, p. 50. Mirjana Zivojinović, "Od Ptelea do Patrik", *ZRVI* 34 (1995), 63-68.

¹⁵ As a matter of fact, those peasants who escaped captivity by the pirates found refuge in other villages of the region whose lords began appropriating them. By the *praktikon* of 1341 for Ibêrôn monastery, we learn about a decree demanding those peasants be restituted to the monastery, something which, apparently, did not materialize. Act. Iv., n. 87, ls. 260-65. This event should have taken place most likely in 1340 when the Aydınoğlus, who were most active in piracy among the coastal *emirs*, rebuilt their fleet after the disaster it had suffered at Edremit in 1334.

¹⁶ The village of Achinos is well known by its being divided into a *timar* held by Laskaris and a disputed monastic domain, in the early years of Ottoman rule. Act. Esph., n. 30. See above, pp. 77-78, 84-86. For Karianê and Semalton: Act. Lavr. II, n. 112.37, p. 287. Goudas, *Batopedi: EEBS*, 4 (1927), n. 10.35, p. 222. For later century references from traveler accounts: J. Lefort (ed.), *Paysages de Macédoine*, 169, 239.

¹⁷ Lowry, *Radilofo*, 36. *Keşışlik*, 24-25.

¹⁸ Dunn, *Topography*, 314-18.

¹⁹ Kazhdan, *Agrarnye Otnosenija*, 58. Laiou-Thomadakis has debated on this point by stressing the usual partiality of late Byzantine *praktika*. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 42-43.

²⁰ The estate belonged in the past to the monastery of the Amalfitans, which was absorbed by the Grand Laura in 1278, so it passed under Laura's possession. The *paroikoi* who are recorded there in 1317 appear to have been recently settled, since none among them owned any pieces of landed property and several had not yet received the proper status of *paroikos* and are described as *eleutheroi* ("free"), i.e. unknown to the fisc. Act. Lavr. II, n. 79.12, p. 48, n. 105, pp. 172-73.

²¹ Lefort, *Radolibos*, 18.

²² See table IXb.

²³ See table IXb.

²⁴ According to this suggestion, the families that were precluded for transfer to another region were to be taxed lighter as a measure for making easier their departure. One of the tricks that were used in this respect was to register their households under the name of the wife as widow-headed ones.

²⁵ Discussion in Lowry, *Radilofo*, 31.

²⁶ TTD-3, 181-82.

²⁷ For each village's details see Table IXb.

²⁸ Lowry, *Radilofo*, 31.

²⁹ Uruç, 24.

³⁰ TTD-7, 343. In fact, the text of TTD-7 does not provide specific information on the Yürük origins of those people. They are simply described as a community of dependents of that *vakıf* ("Cema'at-i muta'alık-i nükte (?) al mezbür"). We are informed about their Yürük background by a later register, the Sofia fragment of the early 16th century which is published by Balta. NLCM/OS 122A, a.e. 427, f. 5a. Balta, *Les Vakıfs*, 224, 283.

³¹ The existence of Stojanovski's translation made this task much easier. However, it has been used only after it was completely cross-checked with the original text, which permitted a correction of some errors it contains.

³² The *resm-i kulluk* was an early form of the *resm-i çift*, *resm-i bennak* and *resm-i mücerred*. The Christians paid the relevant charge of *ispençe*, which was fixed at 25 *aspers* per *hane* and *mücerred* and six *aspers* per *bive*. However, in the case of Christians, the *ispençe* was, more or less, a poll-tax and was demanded not simply from peasants but from the townsfolk too. Cf. İnalcık, *Raiyyet Rusumu: Belleten*, 23 (1959), 602-608.

³³ TTD-7, 237. For general information about the dietary uses of millet, see Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, 29.

³⁴ Act. Iv., III, n. 74, p. 209. Act. Lavr., II, n. 104, p. 170.

³⁵ TTD-3, 178, 182.

³⁶ TTD-7, 328. For a general view of Ottoman arrangements concerning the production of rice, see H. İnalcık, "Rice Cultivation and the Çeltükçi – re'aya System in the Ottoman Empire", *Turcica*, 14 (1982), 69-141.

³⁷ Barkan, *Kanunlar*, n. 22, p. 99, n. 79, p. 270.

³⁸ TTD-3, 189-93, 238-40, 337-38.

³⁹ See above, pp. 48-49, 56-58.

⁴⁰ TTD-3, 181-82.

⁴¹ The production of linseed oil is attested by the record of a *bezirhane* (linseed press) existing in Serres and belonging to the monastery of St. John Profromos. TTD-3, 270.

⁴² TTD-3, 201, 212, 246, 250, 255, 268, 286, 357, 382, 387, 392, 399, 416, 433, 469, 473, 476.

⁴³ Laiou, *Koinonikes Dynameis*, 212.

⁴⁴ See above, pp. 58-59.

⁴⁵ TTD-3, 362. TTD-7, 216.

⁴⁶ TTD-3, 461, 464. TTD-7, 155, 157.

⁴⁷ See below, pp. 244, 258.

⁴⁸ Act. Lavr., II, n. 104, pp. 163-70.

⁴⁹ See map 2.

⁵⁰ Act. Zogr., n. 29, pp. 69-70.

⁵¹ Act. Lavr., II, n. 104.177-78, p. 170. Arch. St. Jean, n. 9.12, p. 55, n. 12.6, p. 62. Act. Phil., n. 9.6, p. 26.

⁵² Act. Lavr., n. 104.66.69, p. 166. In the particular case of Krousobo they used drag-nets for fishing in a nearby stream. TTD-3, 336.

⁵³ The Byzantine tax of *skaliatikon* appears to have been effective in the villages of Melintzianê and Chandax, see Act. Chil., n. 13.91, p. 34, Act. Iv., III, n. 70.30, p. 158, n. 75.57, p. 218, Act. Zogr., n. 29.98. In the 15th century, they demanded this charge in Esphagmenou, Verzani, Chandax, Doxompous and Chrysoupolis. See map 3.

⁵⁴ Act. Lavr. III, n. 128.33, p. 38.

⁵⁵ See map 5.

⁵⁶ In the other villages, Gorne Trliç, Brontou, Oksa and Istarcista, mining occupied a less important position in local economy and corresponded to lower shares of revenue.

⁵⁷ TTD-3, 284-86. TTD-7, 272-75.

⁵⁸ See above, pp. 135-36.

⁵⁹ Here agriculture is conceived in its broader sense that includes animal breeding, fishing, milling and bee-keeping.

⁶⁰ See below, pp. 246-47, 264, 267-68, 280.

⁶¹ TTD-3, 374, 376.

⁶² Act. Iv., III, n. 74.79-80.93.94.100, pp. 197-98.

⁶³ Out of a whole revenue of 10758 and 15226 *aspers* respectively. TTD-3, 411. TTD-7, 170.

⁶⁴ Act. Iv., III, n. 74, pp. 195-204. n. 75.16-17, p. 217. Act. Lavr., II, n. 104.99.158, p. 167. TTD-3, 335, 337, 363.

⁶⁵ See chapter 8.

⁶⁶ In the 14th century, the village was controlled by the monastery of Zographou.

⁶⁷ In 1454/55 and 1478/79 that village was separated in two *timars*, one of the district of Keşişlik the other of the district of Zichna. For this reason, Prof. Lowry having not checked the sections of the *defters* concerning the district of Zichna provides incomplete figures for this village. In any case the whole fiscal revenue that was generated there amounted to 5092 *aspers* in 1454/55 and 7752 *aspers* in 1478/79. TTD-3, 415-16. TTD-7, 151, 213.

⁶⁸ Act. Iv., III, n. 74.251, p. 205, IV, n. 87.251, p. 94. Act. St. Pant., serb n. 2, p. 160. Act. Zogr., n. 16.12-13, p. 37. Act. Lavr., II, n. 104.168, p. 170. See map 4.

⁶⁹ TTD-3, 332, 339. TTD-7, 160, 164.

⁷⁰ Act. Zogr., n. 26.71, p. 60. Act. Pantok., n. 16.9, p. 127. Act. St. Pant., n. 11. 13-14, p. 99.

⁷¹ The *annonikos modios* is supposed to be equal to 8.53 kg. Cf. Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 70, 107, 112, 113, 166, 174.

⁷² Among the records of TTD-7 concerning the village of Hendike, we encounter a *kile* of wheat valued for six *aspers*, which is very close a price to the generally known value of about four or five *aspers* of the *kile* of Istanbul, and 1/20 of the price of the *mudd* that is used throughout that register. TTD-7, 217. For the value and content of the *kile* and *mudd* of Istanbul (the *mudd* is supposed to be equal to 513.12 kg), see Ev. Balta, *L' Eubée à la fin du XVe siècle: économie et population, les registres de l' année 1474*, Athens 1989, 32-34, 156-57, which includes exhaustive citation of relevant literature.

⁷³ See Table X.

⁷⁴ See above, pp. 41-42.

⁷⁵ TTD-3, 189-93, 238-40, 337-38.

⁷⁶ TTD-3, 189-93, 238-40, 337-38.

⁷⁷ See table IXc.

⁷⁸ Lowry, *Radilofo*, 31, 34.

Chapter 8.

Population and economy in town and countryside

b. The towns

The study of the towns in late Byzantine and early Ottoman south-eastern Macedonia has to be introduced by some remarks on the definition of the town itself. When talking about the towns of this particular region in the 14th and 15th centuries, it is important to have made clear which are the criteria we adopt in order to designate a settlement as a “town” and why it should be distinguished from the settlements of the countryside. The idea of distinction between town and village was present among 14th and 15th-century contemporaries. The quasi-official term “*kastron*” (literally castle), which can be encountered in Byzantine texts of every kind, signified the type of settlement to which the Late Antique “city” had evolved, i.e. a necessarily fortified place housing the secular and ecclesiastical authorities of the broader region. Besides their using of the term *kastron* the middle and later-period Byzantines continued using the term “*polis*”, in order to designate some particularly big cities with a long history of urban functions, and derivatives, such as “*polichnê*” or “*polisma*” for small-sized towns of minor importance. Then, the Ottoman Turks used terms, such as *şehir*, for quite big towns housing basic offices like those of a *kadı* and *subaşı*, and *kasaba* for smaller settlements, which were used as centres of a *nahiye*. As a matter of fact, the Byzantines, as well as the Ottoman Turks, made their basic distinction between town and village from an administrative perspective, i.e. in accordance to the offices and authorities that were present in it¹. The Byzantine writers and document-scribes of the 14th century described as towns (*kastra*) three settlements, at least, in the region of the present study, Serres,

Zichna and Chrysoupolis, while the 15th-century *defter*-scribes did the same with two of them, Serres (Siroz) and Zichna (Zihne)². These are the settlements which are regarded in modern scholarship too as the towns of the region, towns which made part of the wider urban network of eastern Macedonia, together with Rentina, Sidêrokastro (Demirhisar), Melnik, Nikopolis (Nevrokob), Philippoi and Christoupolis (Kavala). The three aforementioned towns of Serres, Zichna and Chrysoupolis will be studied in detail hereafter with a purpose to explore their characteristics and their development during the 14th and 15th centuries.

However, our present approach cannot depend on the late medieval concept of the town as the simply bigger settlement where the lay and religious authorities of the broader region are based. It is well known that the late Byzantine smaller provinces, the *katepanikia*, which were governed by a *kephalê*, could be established in areas that included no real town at all. This was the case with the *katepanikion* of Brontou and Trilision, in the area of the present study, whose governor was a certain Rajko in c. 1345³. In consequence of the general view, which associates the office of *kephalê* with a town, the presence of such an official in Brontou and Trilision would prompt a 14th-century contemporary to describe those settlements with words bearing urban connotations, such as *kastron* or *polisma*. Even a modern scholar might regard them as small towns. In a similar way, the presence of a bishop could result in a settlement being viewed as a town. Ezoba and Kaisaropolis were bishopric housing settlements of this type in South-eastern Macedonia. None of those settlements, however, can be accepted here as constituting an actual town. It is, therefore, necessary to base our approach on sounder

criteria for identifying towns and distinguishing them from rural settlements, such as the village. This has to be done on sociological grounds.

Many scholars have given definitions of the pre-industrial town, in general or in special contexts. For A. Cuvillier, a town is a settlement of a legally recognised substance where agriculture ceases to be the sole form of production⁴. According to R. Hilton, the towns of feudal western Europe were basically marked by the existence of permanent market activity, occupational heterogeneity (summarised in the fact that townspeople did not produce their own means of subsistence), and some basic liberties enjoyed by the townsfolk (freedom of status, movement, tenure and access to the market)⁵. Some of these criteria can fit into the late medieval Balkan context, and these would be, in a broad sense, permanent market activity (as opposed to the occasional fairs that were held in the countryside) and division of labour. The adoption of these two basic characteristics as fundamental determining factors of a town's definition and identity creates a sufficient theoretical framework within which to typologize the particular towns – subjects of the present study – and look into their functions in accordance to a previously set standard.

Serres

Serres has always been considered one of the big and important medieval Balkan towns. In this respect, it has received some special attention by modern scholars. The earlier general histories of the town by local scholars have, in recent years been accompanied by specialised scientific works treating particular aspects of the town's history, either with a specific reference to Serres itself or within a broader context.

Ferjančić's monograph on 14th-century Serres, under Byzantine and Serbian rule, is mostly concerned with political history, administration and the question of "power in

the city”⁶. Early Ottoman Serres has received even more attention, especially in the 1990’s. M. Sokoloski, who published a paper of general observations on the town and the surrounding district, became the pioneer of the scientific study of 15th-century Serres⁷. He was followed by P. S. Nasturel and N. Beldiceanu who wrote, in 1978, about the Christian churches of the town, their revenues and the size of the town’s population, according to data derived from the TTD-3 and TTD-7⁸. T. Karanastassis used the published translation of TTD-3 (by A. Stojanovski) in order to provide an extensive commentary to the town’s economic and demographic situation in 1454/55⁹. Evangelia Balta has paid special attention to the *vakıfs* of Serres, their history and finances, also to the town’s *mahalle* names in the 15th century, and to the size of its population in the 15th and 16th centuries¹⁰. Finally, S. Petmezas gives an overview of the town’s administrative and economic situation in the 15th century in an article that accompanies the recent publication of the 17th-century local chronicle of Papasynadênos¹¹. Isolated references to early Ottoman Serres, especially population figures, can be found in broad-subject works too, such as those of Todorov and Stojanovski.

All of these studies are concerned with specific subjects, or are limited in their chronological extent, and, even a combination of them cannot be inclusive of all subjects that the existing data of the 14th and 15th centuries cover. A full use of the existing and accessible sources, i.e. the body of 14th-century Byzantine documents and the 15th-century Ottoman registers, principally the TTD-3 and TTD-7, can shed enough light on several aspects of late medieval Serres in the long term (from c. 1300 to c. 1500), such as urban space, population, division of labour, power in the town, the character of the town.

For the Byzantines of the 14th century, Serres was not just a *kastron*. They often described it as “*polis*” (city), more precisely as a “God saved city” (*Theosôstos polis*), the same designation they used for Thessalonica¹². This high-praising designation underlines the special importance that Serres obviously had in late Byzantine minds, as a consequence of its comparably big size, in terms of population, as well as of the high position it occupied as a centre of provincial administration. This was true, for Serres was the capital of the wider province that was made up of the *themes* of Serres, Strymmôn, Mosynopolis and Boleron (some known governors of that wider provincial unit were Andronikos Kantakouzênos in 1322 and Guy de Lusignan in the late 1330’s up to 1342¹³. At the same time, Serres was the centre of a lesser provincial unit, the similarly named *katepanikion*, which comprised the settlements of the surrounding district¹⁴.

The urban space of late Byzantine Serres is recognisable by natural marks, as well as by the extent of the town’s walls. Like so many other Balkan towns, Serres was built at the foothills of a mountain, more precisely at the south-western extremities of Mt. Menoikion. Its urban extent was flanked by two streams of permanent flow, the stream of Liokalê or Ahmed Paşa Çay, in the east, and the stream of Klompotitza or Dutli Çay in the west¹⁵, while the northern limits corresponded to the foothills of Mt. Menoikion. The medieval town consisted of two distinct parts, the citadel and the lower town, both of them fully encircled by walls. The citadel, which was already known as the *kulle* even before the Ottoman conquest (the *Koulas* of Byzantine texts), was erected on the top of the hill, overhead the rest of the town, at a height of 150m¹⁶. Apart from a ruined church of St. Nicholas any other material remains have not survive from inside the citadel, nevertheless one can expect that the citadel had contained not only governmental

buildings and garrison lodgings, but also the residential quarter of the local upper-class¹⁷. The late Byzantine lower town was equally fortified by a wholly encircling wall. This pattern of two-main-part town probably had its origins in the 9th century, when Serres re-emerged from obscurity. Yet, the late Byzantine image of the town is mostly determined by the impact of the disastrous sacking, which Serres suffered during the Bulgarian raids of Kalojan (at some time between 1197 and 1204). According to Akropolitês, the town had not yet recovered from the effects of that disaster in 1245, when taken by the Nicaeans. The lower town was then roughly fortified and only the citadel had proper fortifications¹⁸. Xyggopoulos suggests that the rebuilding of the citadel walls was a work of Theodore Doukas of Epirus (Serres was under his control between 1218 and 1230)¹⁹, therefore the lower town's walls were presumably rebuilt during the period of Nicaean or early Palaiologan rule (from 1245 onwards).

As a matter of fact, the town was not limited to the walled area only. Its socio-economic functions could not be realised just within the walls, so the suburban territory outside the walls has to be regarded as an integral part of the urban space. Land-use and socio-economic function can indicate the maximum extent of the urban space of late medieval Serres. Extra-mural quarters, such as the neighbourhood of Liokalê, by the east side of the town, the market place of Klompotitza, by the similarly named stream that flows west of the town, and the fish-market quarter of Opsaromesê, are known from the late Byzantine period already. Klompotitza was not just an open space, where bazaars could be held, but a developed commercial quarter as proved by the three rental workshops which Kosmas Pagkalos donated to the Constantinopolitan monastery of Pantokratôr in 1313²⁰. In Klompotitza, which lay in a distance not farther than 200m.

from the main west-side “Gate of the Phoros”, the commercial establishments co-existed with units of rural exploitation, such as an orchard garden owned by the local monastery of Lord Saviour “Latomou”²¹.

Even though extra-mural markets existed in Klompotitza and Opsaromesê, the suburbs of Serres were predominantly rural. In order to delimit the suburban space of Serres with some degree of reliability, we can define as such the area, outside the walls, where residents of the town not just owned rural property but actually worked on it. This distinction, between simple ownership of land and actual work on it, is necessary because rich landowners of the upper class living in Serres could own properties in quite distant areas, in fact they did so, without having to be there. Unlike them, those residents of the town who had to work on the land on a daily basis would not be able to do so if their possessions lay in quite a distant place. In this respect, Libobistos is a typical case of the rural suburb of Serres²². In 1341, a locally established *metochi* of Ibêrôn monastery was endowed with gardens, vineyards, arable land and a mill. We are informed that some residents of Serres had planted vines on land owned by that convent in return for a rent²³. The monastery of St. John Prodromos too owned an estate there in the 1340’s, consisting of 212 *modioi* of arable land (18.84 hectares) and vineyards, properties purchased from Serrean individuals, namely Arabantênos, Melissinos and Botridas²⁴.

Kamenikeia is another, much better known, rural suburb of late Byzantine Serres. A convent of St. Nicholas was founded there late in the 13th century or early in the 14th which became later a *metochi* of Chilandar. The convent was endowed with several rural properties in Kamenikeia, mainly arable land, which were purchased from two individuals in 1321 and 1323²⁵. The men who sold those pieces of land and several

others, who are reported as owners of neighbouring properties, can be assumed to have been residents of Serres. With the southerly and westerly expansion of the town, following the Ottoman conquest, Kamenikeia, which lay 1.5km away from the “Phoros Gate”, was incorporated in the proper urban area of Serres. As a *mahalle* in Serres, early Ottoman Kamenica housed a Muslim population, who seem not to have been involved in agriculture, at least during the 15th century²⁶. Nevertheless, the rural character of the place did not disappear completely. Rural estates were still present adjoining the recently emergent urban area, such as a *çiflik* – *vakıf* of the *imaret* of Evrenos Bey²⁷. The location of Krya Nera, by the stream of Liokalê, can be identified as another rural suburb of late medieval Serres (at a distance of 1km from the walls), where Prodromos monastery had established a *metochi* over the church of St. George Kryoneritês²⁸. The same can be suggested for Kosna, in 1.5 km east of the town, where Prodromos monastery had acquired rural property from several individuals, probably residents of Serres, in the early years of the 14th century.

All of the identifiable suburbs of late medieval Serres, rural as well as market-locations, lay not farther than 2.5 km from the walls of the lower town. Therefore, a radius of this length, or increased to 3 km, can define the extent of the broader suburban area, where functions of the town’s socio-economic life were realised. Such functions included employment for those residents of the town who had to live by agriculture, processing of the grain that was necessary for urban resident’s consumption (at the numerous mills inside the town and in the outskirts), and extra-mural commercial activity. Mills, water mills in particular, were present inside and outside the urban area. Five full-season water mills, located inside the town, belonged to the monastery of

Prodromos in the 1320's, then their number rose to seven in the early 1340's²⁹. They were all located close to the Liokalê stream, at the eastern side of the town, where water could be supplied more easily by the use of aqueducts. In the late 15th century, seven water mills are counted within the urban area of Serres according to the survey of 1478/79³⁰.

Water was not necessary just for the operation of mills, but for the very existence of the town. In this respect, Serres was fortunate enough to be located in an abundantly watered land. Water could be easily conducted into the town by aqueducts from streams flowing at higher elevations. Indeed, this was happening with the water from the "Liokalê stream" that kept the mills of Prodromos monastery operating. Moreover, records have survived of a cistern, which lay in an unidentified location of the vicinity, certainly outside the town, in 1318. There is even reference to an aqueduct, in the same location, which was presumably linked to the cistern³¹. Apparently, the cistern was used for gathering water from the many springs and streams of the area and for re-directing it to the fountains of the town. Moreover, some of the town's inhabitants could rely on their personal water supply by digging a well, if they had available space. Although the water of a well would normally be of an inferior quality compared to the spring and highland water, that was brought through the aqueducts, it was still the best solution for washing up, cleaning and for the garden. Such a well existed in the courtyard of a house which Charitôn, the *prôtonobelissimos*, had sold to Kosmas Pagkalos at a time prior to 1313³².

The Ottoman conquest resulted in a considerable expansion of the urban space of Serres. Even though the particular details of the capture of the town are not known and Dêmêtrios Kydonês has written about slaughtering and enslavement of the population,

the real situation of Serres in the aftermath of the conquest is strongly contradictory to his descriptions. As a matter of fact, the Christian people of Serres were left undisturbed in the fortified lower town and none of the churches was turned into a mosque. For obvious reasons, the Ottomans took the citadel over for Muslim settlement, especially for basing the municipal authorities and the garrison of the town there. Even so, the Byzantine church of St. Nicholas, which lay inside the *Kule*, was not converted. Such an attitude by the Ottoman side is adequate proof of the town's voluntary surrender, probably without any fighting at all. The metropolitan of Serres, Matthew Phakrasês, was indeed taken prisoner for some years³³, the same probably happened to others among the local élite, but the common people remained there as before. Since then, the Byzantine fortified lower town became known as the *varoş* (a term designating the non-Muslim part of Ottoman towns), while the Ottoman authorities, always having a clear policy to giving a Muslim character to conquered cities, had to find other space for settling the Muslim newcomers. As a result, the town expanded to the west and south-west and areas up to then suburban were incorporated into the urban tissue. Muslim settlers were brought into the town soon after the conquest, as it is proved by the establishment of religious foundations in the 1380's and 1390's already, e.g. the Grand Mosque and the *zaviye* of Bahaeddin Paşa. In fact, the Grand Mosque and the "old bath" (*eski hamam*), were both built in the area beyond the Klompotitza stream, in a distance of 300 m. from the walls of the lower town. The area in between was filled with Muslim residences³⁴.

Serres was supposedly one of the well populated towns of the Balkans during the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, no references have survived to the number of people in the town for the 14th century. There are no traveller accounts, for instance, like those of Pero

Tafur who gives a figure of 4000 people living in Trebizond in 1438³⁵. Ferjančić, believing Serres to have been of a rather equal size to Patras, Adrianople, Mistra or Jannina, suggests a population of around 10-15000³⁶, but this is mere speculation. To begin with, the first half of the 14th century, though the most comprehensively documented period in the history of medieval Serres, cannot be regarded with any certainty as the most prosperous period of the town during the Middle Ages. The 12th century is more likely to have seen the apogee of the development and prosperity of medieval Serres, the same as in other towns in Macedonia (e.g. Berrhoia, Kastoria), where the survival of numerous Byzantine monuments, permits such observations. One should be reminded here of the serious devastation that Serres suffered during the raids of Kalojan (between 1197 and 1204); the town had not yet completely recovered by the mid-13th century³⁷, and the effects of this devastation would have certainly put their seal on the town's population as well. The figure of 10-15000 people can possibly be the peak level reached by the population of Serres in the 12th century and was not to be surpassed even in the 16th century. Still, with more than 5000 people Serres can be regarded as a fairly populous town within the whole European context during the Middle Ages.

The surviving Byzantine sources are not enough to allow even an estimate of the number of people in Serres during the first half of the 14th century. In the whole of published Byzantine documents of the period ca. 1305 – ca. 1345 we can count only 216 individuals, who were certain or probable residents of Serres³⁸. These are persons who were involved in property transactions, the members of their families if given, persons who held neighbouring property and witnesses to the transactions. Many more Serreans will become known with the publication of the second chartulary of St. John Prodromos

and the documents of Batopedi, which contain many acts of this kind. After these bodies of documents have been published, the number of known individuals from 14th-century Serres will rise to, perhaps, more than 500. Still, they will constitute a small part only of the town's actual population in the 14th century.

The size of the population of Serres can be estimated with some degree of reliability in the 15th century only, a period that is better illuminated by the records of the *tahrir-defterleri*. One can assume, however, that the population of the town during the first half of the 14th century must have been much higher compared to the approximate numbers of its Christian inhabitants as they appear in the following century. This assumption is based on the alleged demographic decline marking the whole region from the 1350's onwards. Plague is the first reason, war is the second. The normal life, or even the very existence, of a town that has emerged out of a rural context, chiefly depends on the surplus of the countryside, which keeps it alive and going³⁹. If the countryside is devastated over a long period of time and the flow of food and other products into the town is seriously disturbed, the town will not be able to sustain its population for long. This most likely happened with Serres and the other towns of Eastern Macedonia during the years between 1371 (battle of Černomen) and 1383 (fall to the Ottomans), when the region was under continuous raiding by the *gazis*, which resulted in a fleeing of the population to other, more secure, places. The plague too, which hit the Balkans for a first time in 1348, would have had a considerable share in population loss.

The TTD-3, of 1454/55, is the earliest source to contain data relevant to the size of the town's population. Discussion on the limitations of the *defters*, when they are used for calculating the population, as well as for the multipliers that are used for converting

the number of fiscal units into population estimates, has already been done in the previous chapter⁴⁰. What is necessary to add here is the need to take into account the groups of tax immune, and so absent in the *defter*, who are likely to have existed in considerable numbers in the towns. For this reason, Ö.L. Barkan recommends that the approximate number of people one gets by using multipliers should be increased by 20 %, in the case of Istanbul, and by 10 % in other cities, in order to take into consideration those categories of people that were absent in the *defters*⁴¹. This suggestion is followed here, therefore, after the *hane* and *bive* figures are multiplied by five and three, respectively, and the resulting numbers are added together, including the number of *mücerred* as well, the final outcome is increased by 10 %, in order to establish an estimate representing the tax immune groups and also account for the, rather uncommon, possibility of Muslim polygamy. This increase by 10 %, however, is mostly relevant with the Muslim element of the town. In the particular case of Serres, one can expect the tax immune groups to have been predominantly Muslim, such as the *kadı*, the *subaşı* and other high-rank functionaries, the *sipahis* of the broader region and their military retinue, the garrison of the town, high-ranking religious personalities (e.g. the *hatib* of the Grand Mosque), the families of all the former. Within the Christian community, the number of tax immune, thus absent from the *defter*, would have been considerably lower. This group probably included the higher clergy of the diocese, a few Christian *sipahis*, and the humblest element in the town, slaves of no legal substance. As a consequence, the increase by 10 % should be applied to the Muslims only, while the calculated number of Christians is suggested to be increased by a lower rate, a 5 % seems reasonable enough.

For 1454/55, the scribe of TTD-3 gives an overall number of 493 Muslim *hane* and 70 Muslim *bive*, 494 Christian *hane* and 235 Christian *bive*, which constituted the whole of urban population liable to taxation⁴². These figures are slightly inaccurate, for after having counted all registered persons one by one the Christians turn to be 492 *hane* and 233 *bive*. Moreover, the scribe's totals are not inclusive of all registered persons in the town. Underneath his entry of the town's fiscal revenues, the scribe keeps additional records of seven more household-men, six Christians and one convert to Islam, all of them freed slaves (*azadegân*), who were tax exempt⁴³. Then, there were 33 more fiscal units of Christians, a group of *kepezciyân* (veil makers) consisting of 25 *hane* and 8 *bive* who lived inside Serres but paid their tax not to the *has*-grantee of the town itself but to another recipient; consequently, they are registered in a different section of the *defter*⁴⁴. After taking into account those groups of separately registered, the total figures of the town become 494 *hane* and 70 *bive*, for the Muslims, and 523 *hane* and 241 *bive*, for the Christians. The numbers of Muslim fiscal units permit an estimate of 2948 Muslims in the town⁴⁵.

A similar estimation of the Christians of the town in 1454/55 would produce the number of 3505 people. Nevertheless, this estimate has to be treated very cautiously, for the demographic situation of the town's Christian community appears to have been very abnormal in that year. This is due to the extraordinarily large number of *bive* households (the proportion of Christian *bive* appears similarly high in Zichna, Drama and in several villages of the region in that year). Such a big number of widows can be explained by the strong probability of an epidemic in the years before the drawing up of TTD-3. In fact, the plague, since its first outbreak in 1348, had become endemic and stroke at the Balkan

and Anatolian regions quite often. Of course, one can claim that the plague would not have discriminated between Muslims and Christians and its effects would have been apparent with the former as well⁴⁶. This point, however, can be countered by the probability of a recent Muslim settlement in the town. Indeed, some of the Muslim residents of Serres in 1454/55 were recently settled in the town, as it is indicated by their place of origin that accompanies their name. Therefore, a considerable part of the Muslim population could have been brought in the town after it was hit by the epidemic to compensate for the human loss, which the previously existing local Muslims would have suffered. As his own explanation of the big number of Christian widows, Karanastasês suggests that many Christian men from Serres, the rest of the region, and elsewhere had been enlisted as auxiliaries, and perished in the hard fought battles of the 1440's (Crusade of Varna, second battle of Kosovo etc.)⁴⁷. Such an explanation is completely irrelevant to the general context and cannot be accepted. The Early Ottomans made a rather strict distinction between the military groups and the rest of the society. Their methods of organising and financing the army were sufficient for maintaining troop levels at the optimal numbers and for a quick replacement of losses. Moreover, the campaign army was always augmented by an influx of volunteering irregulars. It would be highly unusual for the Ottomans to resort to mass mobilisation of the productive population, even for using them as auxiliaries.

The higher than normal number of *bive* in 1454/55 can be attributed to an epidemic. Yet, another, even sounder, explanation can be suggested by relating the big number of *bive* entries to a conscious practice of under-registration. In a period of continuous migration, as the 15th century was as the result of Ottoman policies of *sürgün*,

the transferred populations, or those in preparation to be transferred, needed some incentives for an easier resettlement and these were related to lighter taxation. This purpose was served by fiscal under-registration. Registering the man of a household as *mücerred*, or registering it under the wife's name as a *bive* household, meant a considerably lighter taxation (the *ispençe*, for instance, was charged at 25 *aspers* for the *hane* but at six *aspers* only for the *bive*). These remarks add up to the limitations of the *tahrir-defterleri* as a source for population measurement. Their *bive* entries represent first of all not widowed women but households charged at the *bive* rates. In the case of the many *bive* entries contained in the *defter* of 1454/55, there is a strong probability that they represent households where the husband is actually present but they are registered under the wife's name instead for reasons of a lighter taxing related with a forthcoming resettlement. This probability is further supported by clear evidence of under-registration offered by the scribe himself. We read in the TTD-3 that 36 priests of Serres were exempt from paying the *ispençe*⁴⁸. Nevertheless, all individually registered priests of Serres, who are encountered in the text, are no more than 17. The rest were "hidden", possibly behind a wife's name.

The second known registration of Serres is contained in a fragment of *defter* located in the National Library of Sofia⁴⁹. It can be dated in the period between the drawing up of TTD-3 and TTD-7, more probably in a year closer to 1478/79 than to 1454/55, for the figures it gives are not far from those of TTD-7. The total number of registered persons is 480 *hane* and 44 *mücerred* for the Muslims, plus 259 *hane*, 37 *mücerred* and 64 *bive*, for the Christians⁵⁰. These correspond to an approximate population of 2688 Muslims and 1600 Christians, a total of 4288 in the town⁵¹.

Therefore, by the time the Sofia fragment was drawn up, the balance of numbers had turned in favour of the Muslims, who became a majority in the town, while in 1454/55 the Christians were more numerous, in terms of fiscal units at least. This approximate number of 1600 represents an all-time low for the Christian population of late medieval Serres. The number of Christians appears only slightly improved in 1478/79.

According to the records of TTD-7, the taxable population of Serres consisted of 582 *hane*, 20 *mücerred* and 70 *bive* for the Muslims (including the exempt), and 289 *hane*, 3 *mücerred* and 62 *bive* for the Christians⁵². The corresponding estimate of population can be 3454 Muslims and 1716 Christians, a total of 5170 people in the town⁵³.

These figures, however modest they may seem by modern standards, allow us to regard Serres as a fairly populous town within the context of the early Ottoman Balkans. Todorov has set a 15th-century standard of 800 households (having the *hane* in mind most likely) in order to designate towns that exceeded it as “big”. Serres, with 1017 *hane* in 1454/55 and 871 in 1478/79, is well over this limit. According to Todorov, only three Ottoman Balkan cities exceeded the number of 800 households in the 15th century, excluding Istanbul, and only ten the number of 400 households⁵⁴. He does not seem, however, to have taken Serres into account. Yet, his conclusions can be revised in face of new data that came to light since 1972, the year his work appeared. A basic idea of the relative size of Serres, in terms of population, can be obtained by comparing its estimated population of 1478/79 with similar estimates for other Balkan towns⁵⁵. This comparison shows that, excluding Istanbul and Galata, only Thessalonica and Nikopol were more populous than Serres. In fact, other towns, with no published data available for the 15th

century, certainly had a much higher population than Serres, such as Edirne, Filibe (Plovdiv) and Athens, perhaps the same was true with towns like Berroia or Jannina. Still, Serres was one of the most populous towns in the Ottoman Balkans during the 15th century, even though its population appears much reduced by 1478/79 compared with 24 years earlier. In terms of fiscal units, this reduction is of a rate of 22.7 % (1026 fiscal units in 1478/79 as compared to 1328 in 1454/55). This is a consequence of the drastic decrease of the town's Christian population, at a rate of 53.6 %, while the number of Muslims actually rose by 19.1 %. Karanastasês, trying to explain this overwhelming numerical decrease of the Christian element, points out at a possibility of misleading data and suggests that the real number of Christians was probably bigger, but part of the Christian population could have been ascribed with a different fiscal assignment, perhaps a sultanic *has*, instead of being assigned to the *has*-grantee of the town. For this reason the missing Christians could be expected to have been registered in a different, probably lost, section of the *defter*⁵⁶. This is a speculation going too far. If some of the Serreans were really ascribed within a different fiscal assignment, they would normally be included in one based not too far from the town⁵⁷. Nevertheless, there are no more residents of Serres to be encountered in any other section of the TTD-7⁵⁸. The small number of Christians in Serres, in 1478/79, may rather be interpreted as a real decrease of the town's Christian population, most likely in result of out-migration.

This suggestion is strengthened by the precise evidence we have about the late medieval Jewish community of Serres. The Jews of Serres, like those of other towns of Macedonia and elsewhere, were moved to Constantinople very soon after it fell to the Ottomans in effect of Mehmed II's policy of repopulating the city (they were already

taken there by 1454/55 which explains their absence in the TTD-3)⁵⁹. This well-known deportation of the Jewish element of the town gives a strong indication about a similar development for the Christian population. The decreased number of Christians in 1478/79 is, most likely, the result of a deportation, in a similar way to what is known for the Jewish community.

The established population estimates can be used for providing an approximate figure of population density in 1478/79. Before proceeding to this, it is necessary to distinguish, as much as our data allow, the groups occupying each one of the three basic parts of the town, i.e. the citadel, the fortified lower town, and the extra-mural area of settlement. The Christians of early Ottoman Serres are traditionally believed to have resided within the confines of the fortified lower town. Nevertheless, an examination of the Christian quarters, whenever they are recorded in the *defters*, indicates strongly the existence of extra-mural ones. This is better proved by the records of TTD-167 (1530/31), a *defter* in which the Christian quarters are named after the local parish churches, which are generally identifiable and a few among them certainly extra-mural⁶⁰. The naming of Christian quarters in the TTD-7 is conducted in an inconsistent way. Some of the *mahalles* are named after the prevailing professional occupation among their residents. Four are named after the local parish church, those of Ayo Vasil, Ayo Nikola, Ayo Dimitri and Liokali (i.e. the church of Virgin Heliokalê)⁶¹. Other Christian neighbourhoods bore the names of personalities, mostly Muslims, who had probably been influential figures in the history of the town up to that time. One of those neighbourhood names, the *mahalle-i Mehmed Şah kadı ibn al Fenari*, is related to the person of Mehmed Şah who reportedly was the *kadı* of the town in 1471⁶². Only one neighbourhood bore the

name of a Christian personality, the *mahalle-i Kir Dimitri*⁶³, perhaps in commemoration of Dêmétrios Bryennios Laskaris, the influential local notable and *timar*-holder of the early years of Ottoman rule. In so far as the Muslim quarters are concerned, only one had its named derived from the prevailing occupation amongst its residents, the *mahalle-i tabaklar* (quarter of the tanners)⁶⁴. All the other Muslim quarters, apart from those of Kule, Cami and Kamenica, had received their name after the person who founded the local religious establishment, mosque (*mescid*) or *imaret*. The pattern of attributing to the Christian quarters of the town names of Muslim personalities or professional designations is unique in the registers of the 15th century and was soon replaced by the practice of naming them after the church. Therefore, the 15th-century patterns of *mahalle* naming make it more difficult to identify and localise the Christian quarters of the town. In any case three of them can be presumed to be extra-mural, those of Liokali, Bostancilar and Mahi-i Gebran. Liokali was extra-mural with no doubt. Then, the 15th-century *mahalle-i bostancilar* can correspond to the “gardeners’ quarter” of later centuries, which lay outside the old Byzantine walls⁶⁵. In a similar way, the 15th-century quarter of the fishermen (the *mahalle-i Mahi-i Gebran*) can possibly be identified as the Opsaromesê, the extra-mural fish market of the late Byzantine period⁶⁶. As for the other Christian quarters, as they appear in the TTD-7, they can be assumed to have been located within the walled area.

Since the basic distinction of the Christian settlement in intra-mural and extra-mural is completed, the approximate number of people in each one of the basic parts of the town can be expected to be around 367 in the Kule (all of them Muslims), 1647 in the fortified lower town (all of them Christians), and 3156 in the extra-mural urban area

(mainly Muslims plus the Christians of the Bostancılar, Mahi-i Gebran and Liokali quarters)⁶⁷. The approximate surface measures are 3.5 hectares for the citadel, 12.5 hectares for the fortified lower town, 29 hectares for the extra-mural area of urban settlement in the 15th century⁶⁸. Therefore, the density of population in 1478/79 has to be 105 people per hectare in the citadel, 132 people per hectare in the fortified lower town, and 109 people per hectare in the extra-mural urban area. Not surprisingly, the fortified area of the town was the more densely populated, in result of a long medieval tradition of, easily understandable, higher popularity of living within the walls than outside. Since the establishment of Ottoman rule, the walled *varoş* of Serres was by no means a ghetto, where the Christians had been compelled to confine themselves. On the contrary, the existing evidence of extra-mural Christian settlement demonstrates how some Christian quarters could be located amidst the Muslim ones.

The figures of population density for 1478/79 seem quite high in contemporary terms, even though the population of the town had fallen to a remarkably low point in that year, especially the Christians⁶⁹. In 1530/31, when the population of Serres had risen to approximately 6240⁷⁰, the figures of density become 136 per hectare in the fortified lower town and 157 per hectare in the extramural area (there are no particular records for the Kule in that year's register). If these relatively high figures, by late medieval standards, existed in Serres in 1478/79, at a moment when the town's Christian population was at its lowest and some of the Christian quarters had as few as five, four, or even one or two households⁷¹, then the figure of density for pre-Ottoman times can be expected to have had been much higher (especially during the first half of the 14th century and earlier).

To the question whether late medieval Serres was a spacious town (as was normal with towns in the area of late Byzantium) or not, the Byzantine sources of the 14th century give contradictory evidence⁷². On the one hand, we are informed of manufacturing complexes, e.g. mills, an oil-press, and also of vegetable and orchard gardens that existed within the limits of the walled area⁷³; several residential houses too had their own court-yard, the particular one which Kosmas Pagkalos had bought from Charitôn had such a vast court-yard that the former erected a second, two-storey, house within its confines⁷⁴. All these indicate an availability of space. On the other hand, there are references to houses that were built closely one to each other and all, up to five, sharing a single court-yard⁷⁵. This contradictory evidence does not permit us to reach a clean conclusion whether Serres should be viewed as a uniquely spacious town or not. Some patches were densely built, others not. Moreover, in so far as the 1478/79 figure of 132 people per hectare is a relatively high one, a considerable share of the, more numerous in the 14th century, population of the town can be expected to have resided in extramural areas. Yet, the figure of 132 persons per hectare does not look so high in comparison to the density of West European medieval towns, which normally ranged between 150 and 400 people per hectare⁷⁶.

The character of late medieval Serres can be defined rather easily through an examination of its economic realities. In this respect, the Byzantine sources of the 14th century provide only indications, whereas a more comprehensive picture is supplied by the Ottoman registers of the 15th century. The provenance of revenue, mainly fiscal, as it appears in the *defters*, can illuminate in adequate terms the economic and occupational orientation of the townsfolk⁷⁷. Commerce and the crafts were the predominant economic

activities, according to the records of commercial taxation contained in the *defters*. The exact amount of revenue raised through commercial taxation (represented by the taxes known as *kist-i bazar* and *bac*) cannot be precisely calculated, because of data shortcomings in both of the registers, but even the recorded amounts are enough to demonstrate the preponderance of market economy.

In 1454/55, the *has*-grantee of the town, i.e. Doğan Kürtçü the local *subaşı*, was entitled to a share of 15000 *aspers* from the tax on commercial transactions. This represented only a part of the whole output of this particular tax; the rest was reserved for the Sultan and registered with the sultanic *has* of Yeniçe-Karasu, as we are fortunate to know by the evidence of TTD-7. The relevant section of the TTD-3 is lost, it is therefore impossible to know the amount of the sultanic share in 1454/55. But even the incomplete figure of 15000 *aspers*, which is attested for 1454/55, represents a still considerable percentage of 20.27 % out of the whole revenue recorded in Serres in that year. In 1478/79, the sultanic share from the market dues of Serres amounted to 60000 *aspers*, a 39.90 % of the whole revenue generated in the town⁷⁸. The share of the *has*-grantee (Sinan Beğ the *kilâr başı* in that year) is not given separately but is registered together with his revenues from other sources. His share from the market dues, plus his revenues from the *niyabet*, a *bozahane* and olive-trees, gave altogether the sum of 32000 *aspers*. Nevertheless, the *has*-holder's share of commercial taxation in 1478/79 should have been no less than 15000 *aspers*, i.e. the amount of 1454/55. In this case, the shares of both the Sultan and the *has*-grantee to the output of commercial taxation amounted to no less than 75000 *aspers*, roughly half of the whole recorded revenue in the town.

The *has*-grantee was also entitled to other highly profitable sources of revenue, such as the *niyabet* (representing a 23.51 % out of the whole revenue of the town in 1454/55), the *ispençe* (18.41 % of the town's whole recorded revenue in 1454/55, 4.79 % in 1478/79), and the *monopoliye* (16.62 % of the town's whole in 1454/55, 11.30 % in 1478/79). The *niyabet*, belonging to the pre-Ottoman category of *bad-i hava* taxation (the Byzantine *aêr*), had its origins in cash fines, which with the passing of time were transformed into regular payments, more or less a poll-tax. The *ispençe*, another tax of pre-Ottoman origin, was generally regarded as the Christian equivalent of the *resm-i kulluk* imposed on Muslims. Nevertheless, while the *resm-i kulluk* of Muslims was in absolute terms a land-usage tax demanded only from peasants, the *ispençe* existed evidently within the urban context too and was a burden for the Christian townsfolk as well as for the peasants⁷⁹. It had practically become a poll-tax directed to the local beneficiary. The *ispençe* was charged at fixed prices of 25 *aspers* per *hane* and *mücerred*, and six *aspers* per *bive* household. The high amount of revenue it yielded leads to the suggestion that almost the entirety of Christian tax-payers in Serres were liable to *ispençe* payments. Records of the exempt are provided in the TTD-3 and those were the priests of the town (36 according to the scribe) and six freed slaves⁸⁰. The much lower figure of *ispençe* output in 1478/79, compared with 24 years earlier, is the result of the serious decrease of the town's Christian population by that year.

The *monopoliye* was another highly profitable source of revenue for the *has*-grantee of Serres, which means that, for a given period of time, the wine sellers of the town had to procure their merchandise only from the *has*-beneficiary and not from other suppliers. The product, which the *has*-holder put into the market, was derived by the

levies in kind he collected from the people included in his grant. In the case of Serres, the *has*-grantee does not seem to have been acquiring the product he put into market by the producers of the town itself. All of his recorded revenue that was associated with viticulture was collected in cash and amounted not much. Nevertheless, he collected a lot of wine in kind from the several villages included in his *has* and that became the object of his monopoly privileges.

Indeed, a few among the inhabitants of Serres were real peasants, producing cereals. Their presence can be deduced from those 14th-century acts of property transaction, which concerned arable land held by residents of the town. The *defters* provide a more comprehensive picture of town dwellers involved in agriculture. In both the TTD-3 and TTD-7 there is record of the quantity and value of rural product to be collected by the *has*-beneficiary. Moreover, the TTD-7 contains record of the agriculturalist residents of Serres, the *çiftçiyân*, even though their number is not given⁸¹. Nevertheless, the number of real peasants among the Serreans, i.e. of people who cultivated the land for the production of cereals, should have been small and proportionally insignificant. This is proved by the negligible share represented by cereal production out of the whole revenue generated by the town. In 1454/55, the *has*-grantee was entitled to 17 *kiles* of wheat, barley and millet, valued at 345 *aspers* (a 0.46 % of all revenues recorded in the town); in 1478/79, he collected 20 *mudds* of wheat and barley valued at 1800 *aspers* (1.19 % of all recorded revenues)⁸². The few residents of Serres, who were mainly occupied in agriculture, were all Christian as indicated by the absence of a *resm-i kulluk* entry in the text of the *defters* concerning the town.

The involvement of Serreans with the products of the land was not limited to the insignificant cereal production. The 14th-century Byzantine documents contain references to the existence of vegetable and orchard gardens within the urban context and to residents of the town growing vines. The same is apparent in the registers of the 15th century. Several among the townsfolk, Muslims and Christians alike, owned vineyards, vegetable gardens and orchard gardens (with particular reference to olive, mulberry and walnut trees), and some were taxed for them⁸³. Religious foundations also were endowed with vineyards and gardens, as well as with mills and shops, inside the town or in the outskirts (e.g. the diocese of Serres, the monastery of St. John Prodromos, the mosques). All revenues connected with vineyards and gardens, however, cannot be enough to distinguish a person as agriculturalist. Their product was supplementary to human nutrition, and, equally, involvement in producing it could only be supplementary to one's professional occupation. An illuminating case is offered by the example of those Serreans who, in 1454/55, were assigned to pay their taxes to a *mülk*-owner of the *nahiye* of Kaladendra (33 fiscal units). They are all described as *kepezciyân*, i.e. makers/sellers of veils or headgear in general, yet they were in possession of vineyards and liable to a levy on their product⁸⁴. Even though those people were charged the quite substantial amount of 3000 *aspers* for their vineyards, they were primarily occupied not in agriculture but in the crafts, as it is evident by their description as *kepezciyân*.

A basic aspect of division of labour in late medieval Serres is the distinction between those primarily, or exclusively, occupied in agriculture, i.e. those involved in cereal production, and those occupied in trading and the crafts; the former were a small part of the townsfolk in the 15th century. This basic distinction is evident in the Byzantine

documents of the 14th century, in accordance to their references to both arable lands, held by town dwellers, and shops or workshops, despite their lack of precise information on the professional orientation of the townsfolk. The Ottoman registers of the 15th century shed more light on this aspect thanks to the many references they contain to the professional occupation of a large number of registered persons.

In both of the registers, many among the Muslim residents of Serres are distinguished by their professional occupation, a practice that is not followed for the Christians of the town. As a result, their professional specialisation can only be deduced from the names of *mahalles*, that are recorded in the TTD-7 under a professionally related name. This does not necessarily mean that all of those registered in a professionally named quarter dealt with that particular job. In the single Muslim quarter that bore a professional name in 1478/79, the *mahalle-i tabaklar*, only four out of 19 registered men practised the art of the tanner. The same quarter's residents included the *imam*, a locksmith, a carpenter, a dyer, a headgear maker, a tailor and a bran-cook. For the remaining eight persons their profession is not recorded, some of them could have been tanners as well⁸⁵. In the case of Christians, who are almost never individually distinguished by profession, all of those registered in a professionally named quarter are hereafter regarded by convention as engaged in the particular profession, because there can be no precise evidence of their actual involvement in the job.

The whole number of registered persons with a known profession is 290 in 1454/55 and 403 in 1478/79⁸⁶. Most of them were involved in food related jobs (31 in 1454/55 and 76 in 1478/79), including the salt sellers, or in the production and selling of garments and footwear (176 in 1454/55 and 189 in 1478/79). An important position in

local economy was occupied by the blacksmiths (7 in 1454/55, 11 in 1478/79) and other metal-related professions, e.g. tinsmiths, locksmiths, makers/sellers of tools and weapons. Some of those occupations were certainly artisanal ones, such as those of tailor, weaver, cotton-fluffer. In silk related jobs, is easy to distinguish between those involved in processing (*kazzaz*) and those selling the product (*ipekçi* or *metaksopolis*). In some more specialised jobs the same persons seem to be makers and sellers of their stuff, e.g. those dealing with headgear, footwear, knives and other tools, ready made food (pastries, *şerbet* and *boza* drinks). Some others, however, among the town's professionals are simply described as merchants or shopkeepers. Several miscellaneous professions are represented by usually no more than a handful of specialists but are illuminating of everyday life in the town, such as water-carriers and ice-sellers, carters and carriers, bath attendants and masseurs, musicians, dealers in luxurious goods (goldsmiths, jewellers, perfumers), town cryers and watchmen⁸⁷. A particularly important occupation was that of the *sarraf*, money changers and primitive bankers with five of them, all Christian, recorded in a *mahalle-i sarrafân* in 1478/79⁸⁸. They were directly involved in the operation of the local sultanic mint, which they supplied with precious metal and disposable bullion, taking back newly struck coins which they were the first to put into circulation⁸⁹. As money changers, they would exchange the bronze coin of every-day use to silver ones (*akça*), necessary to people for paying their taxes. As money lenders, they were a last resort for the cash needy. The scribes occupied an equally crucial position in the context of a highly illiterate society, especially in the composition of official documents (acts of property transaction etc.). In the 14th century, the scribes worked in close co-operation with the notarial services of the diocese; two of them, who are known

by name, John Phalakros and Theodore Logariastês, are described as *taboullarioi* (notaries)⁹⁰. Scribes appear in the 15th-century *defters* also, where they are described as *yazıcı* or *kâtib*.

The professional orientation of the inhabitants of Serres gives enough evidence to the strong interaction between the town and the surrounding countryside. Local trading and manufacture seem to have been mostly based on goods that were produced in adequate quantities in the vicinity (foodstuffs, textile substances, saffron, iron from the mines of Sidêrokastro, Brontou and Trilission, salt from Chrysoupolis). With regard to linen and probably cotton too, the countryside seems not to have been producing adequate quantities and there is possibility that part of raw material necessary to the industry of Serres was imported from elsewhere. Other goods imported from elsewhere probably included silk (raw and processed, the growing of silkworms corresponds to a very small share of the agricultural production of South-eastern Macedonia), soap, glass, metal other than iron. The town's biggest manufacturing units were all related with the processing of rural products; the sources contain records of water mills, oil-presses, linseed-presses, a *bozahane* (where millet was distilled for the production of *boza*, a lightly alcoholic drink)⁹¹. The water mills of the town, in particular, numbered seven in 1478/79; five mills were owned by Muslim individuals, namely Hızir Bey, Mehmed son of Koyun Yusuf, Ali son of Firuz Bey, Burhan Bey and Hoca Aydın, one was owned by the Monastery of Prodromos, another one was a *vakıf*⁹². Some of those mills were mill-complexes with more than one millstone; the mill of Prodromos monastery was the biggest one with eight. According to the *defter* records, each mill was taxed at 30 *aspers* per millstone, and the whole revenue assessment on Muslim owned mills amounted to

740 *aspers* (0.49 % of the whole recorded revenue in the town)⁹³. The eight-millstone water mill of Prodromos monastery was not charged on its own account and there is record of the whole revenue it generated for the monastery, 1000 *aspers*⁹⁴. This corresponds to 125 *aspers* as an approximate output of every millstone. Therefore, the levy of 30 *aspers* per millstone that was imposed on water mills represents about one fourth of the mill's total output. Taking this into account, one can estimate the whole income of water mills in the town as about 3960 *aspers*.

Late medieval Serres was, in general terms, a self-contained town. The production of the surrounding countryside and local manufacture were, more or less, sufficient for its continuous existence and development. The influx of products from the vicinity served both the nutritional needs of the townsfolk and the demand of raw material by the town's "industry". Then, manufactured goods were traded back in the countryside. The strong inter-dependence between Serres and the surrounding districts becomes the most sufficient determinant of the character of the town. Serres certainly belongs to the type of "rural town"⁹⁵. This is due not to the number of town dwellers exclusively occupied in agriculture, which is insignificant in any case, but to the role played by the town within the context of the broader region. The primary function of medieval and early modern Serres was to be a local centre, the commercial and artisanal centre of the broader rural vicinity⁹⁶. Its growth, prosperity and development depended on the rural production of the countryside. Serres can be briefly described as the commercial and manufacturing centre in a region of a predominantly agrarian economy. Any other characteristics of Serres, such as the high position it occupied in provincial administration etc., are secondary.

Division of labour and the complexities of urban economic life are reflected in the social stratification of the town. In fact, the Byzantines of the later period had a clear view of social class, expressed in their distinction between the aristocracy (the “*archons*”), the middle class (the *mesoi*) and the lower class (the “people”), though not clarified on which grounds. Moreover, this distinction applied only for the townsfolk, whereas in the countryside there were only lords and peasants. Since the basic distinction of urban people in three classes has been made by the Byzantines themselves, one can take the challenge to elaborate this categorisation in terms of social realities. The aristocratic upper class of the *archons* is well defined as consisting of the wealthy landowners of the countryside who mostly lived in the towns and had local power concentrated in their hands⁹⁷. Yet, it is rather impossible to set a lower limit of property and revenue for defining who should have belonged to the local aristocracy and who not. Possession of substantial landed wealth is a prerequisite, yet the key issue is power, i.e. participation in the local government. Some of the *archons* of 14th-century Serres, under Byzantine and Serbian rule, include Charitôn, the *prôtonobelissimos* (prior to 1313), George Phôkopoulos, some members of the local senate reported in 1365, the two “Universal Judges” of the Serbian period (Orestês and Dêmêtrios Komnênos Eudaimonoiôannês), Nikêtas Pediasêmos (1366), Doukas Nestoggos (described as *Grand Pappias* in 1360), a certain Kabasilas (described as *Megas Archôn* in 1377), a certain Phakrasês (described as Grand Primmikêrios), Doukas Koresês, members of the Raoul family, such as Alexios Doukas Raoul (described as Grand Domestikos in 1355) and Dêmêtrios Palaiologos Raoul⁹⁸.

Others who might also have belonged to the upper class of late Byzantine Serres include John Margarîtês, George Troulinos, Manuel Aggelos the patrician. Those were wealthy landowners of the countryside but there is no evidence whether they resided in Serres or elsewhere. More detailed information exists on the property of Charitôn and Phôkopoulos which demonstrates their urban proprietorship as well as their rural wealth. Apart of the considerable size of their rural possessions in the countryside (pieces of arable as big as 90 hectares each, vineyards, mills), they owned quite numerous houses and workshops inside the town⁹⁹.

If the provincial aristocracy can be defined more or less easily, this is more difficult with the middle class of the late Byzantine town, the *mesoi* of the Byzantine texts. In contrast to the former, those were professionals; people involved in business, in particular, have to be included in this group (bankers, merchants, artisans)¹⁰⁰. A clear distinction between the middle and lower class cannot be simply made in accordance to the position they occupied in the mode of production. Individual economic standing must have been a primary factor in identifying a person as middle and lower class, within the vast commercial and artisanal group. Merchants and entrepreneurs were in general terms more wealthy than artisans, for they had a much more open field of activity and opportunities to expand their business, especially those involved in imports, exports and transit trade (e.g. Tornikios Giannitzopoulos a Serrean broker of Ragousan trade in 1326). Their better economic standing is also evident in 15th-century Serres, as shown by the example of Hayreddin Bacdar. The latter, a tax-collector according to his second name, probably involved in tax-farming, was able to patronize the building of a *mescid* in the quarter that henceforth received his name¹⁰¹. Unlike him, the Muslim tanners of

Serres had to act collectively, through their guild, in order to found their own *mescid*, the same as the Christian furs-makers who patronized the church of St. George Gounaras (or *Kürkçüyân*)¹⁰².

Within the groups of artisans, those specialised in more profitable fields would have made part of the late Byzantine middle class, those specialised in less profitable ones can be regarded as lower class, together with unskilled labourers, farm workers and others occupied in humble professions. The guild organisation of professional groups was a reality in late Byzantine and early Ottoman Serres, and the existence of guilds is probably reflected in the professional names of several quarters in 1478/79. The guilds of the Muslim tanners and Christian furs-makers are known by their pious endowments, as mentioned above. More precise information has not survived about the guilds in late medieval Serres, but, in general, late Byzantine and early Ottoman guilds were in close co-operation with governmental authorities and responsible for controlling employment, prices and all professional matters for the common sake of all members¹⁰³.

An especially important role in local affairs was played by the higher ecclesiastical officials, either clerics or lay persons. Those were professionals, in the service of the diocese, and for this reason they have to be regarded as middle class components. Their particular importance lay in the notarial services they provided and their authority in sanctioning all acts of property transaction. In this respect they were a real literate elite. They seem to have been wealthy enough, holding a substantial amount of rural and urban property. Characteristic examples are given by George Mourmouras, the *sakellarios* of the diocese (a layman in fact), who could afford founding the convent of St. George Kryoneritês, and by the Disypatoi brothers (deacons), who reportedly

owned a rural estate in Bernarous¹⁰⁴. Their properties probably earned them more than their employment in diocese services.

A major consequence of the Ottoman conquest, in respect of social realities, was the extinction of the late Byzantine land-owning aristocracy. The new social formation did have its own élite, military and religious, which enjoyed tax immunities and allocations of fiscal revenue, but these were not as wealthy and powerful as the *archôns* in late Byzantine society. Christians were indeed included in the Ottoman elite and, in the case of provincial towns like Serres, could become particularly influential as representatives of the Christian community (as was the case with Manuel Doukas and Dêmétrios Bryennios Laskaris – a *timar* holder – in the early years of Ottoman rule). Real power, however, was in the hands of the representatives of central authority. On the other hand, the commercial and artisanal groups of the town remained as before without serious changes in their social and economic conditions. In early Ottoman minds there was no further distinction of the commercial and artisanal groups in classes, they were all regarded as the urban *reayat*. In practice, individual economic standing differed considerably among the townsfolk, and wealthy merchants or entrepreneurs, such as Tornikios Giannitzopoulos or Hayreddin Bacdar, could even be richer than many *sipahis*. The most profound case of Serreans involved in highly profitable business was that of George Branas and Thomas Kantakouzênos who, together with two other persons, had undertaken the exploitation of Serbian mines in 1468 for a return of 8,000,000 *aspers*¹⁰⁵. The existence of a particularly wealthy group of merchants and businessmen in early Ottoman Serres permit us to regard this group as an economic elite existing side by side with the military and religious ones. Nevertheless, it should always be born in mind that

all local elite had no real power and authority whatsoever in a period of strong centralistic tendencies, as the reign of Mehmed II.

Zichna

In contrast to the quite large scholarly production dealing with late medieval Serres, Zichna has not been the subject of specialised study by medievalists, which is quite obvious since its history is not as elaborate as that of Serres and, moreover, the town has not survived the present day. Some special attention has been given to Zichna by Nasturel and Beldiceanu, in their brief study of population and ecclesiastical property in Serres, Drama and Zichna during the 15th century, and by Moutsopoulos with concern to topographic and archaeological matters¹⁰⁶. Laying within a close distance to Serres, Zichna could only have played a role complementary to the former in the regional process of interaction between town and countryside. Moreover, it was a much smaller town and the size of its population was modest by all means, as shown by a comparison with population figures from other towns of southern Macedonia in 1519¹⁰⁷.

The earliest records of Zichna's population are contained in the TTD-3, to be followed by those of TTD-7. To the best of my knowledge, there is no other surviving register of the intermittent period, between 1454/55 and 1478/79, to contain records of Zichna. Then, Zichna appears again in registers of the years 1512/13 (BBA/MMD-7) and 1519 (TTD-70)¹⁰⁸. According to the earliest surviving register, the taxable population of Zichna appears to have consisted in 1454/55 of 32 *hane* of Muslims, and 401 *hane*, 20 *mücerred* and 145 *bive* of Christians¹⁰⁹. To these numbers we have to add four Christian *hane* and 27 *mücerred* of tax-exempt, so the total numbers become 32 *hane*, for the Muslims, 405 *hane*, 47 *mücerred* and 145 *bive*, for the Christians, which correspond to an

approximate number of 2808 people¹¹⁰. As in Serres, the number of Christian *bives* is disproportionately high, which may be explained either by a recent outbreak of epidemic or, more likely, by fiscal under-registration.

In 1478/79, the total number of persons we count is 32 *hane* and 4 *mücerred* for the Muslims, and 388 *hane*, 2 *mücerred*, 127 *bive* for the Christians. The defter scribe gives a slightly different figure for the Christians, 390 *hane* and 128 *bive* (he has included the two *mücerred* in his total figure of *hane*)¹¹¹. The total number of registered persons has to be further amended by adding a separately registered tax-exempt group of 17 Christian *hane* and, at the same time, subtracting 22 *hane* and 2 *bive*, all Christian, who were fiscally registered in Zichna but actually living elsewhere¹¹². Therefore, the actual number of recorded residents of Zichna in 1478/79 becomes 32 *hane* and 4 *mücerred* of Muslims and 383 *hane*, 2 *mücerred*, 125 *bive* of Christians, which give an estimated population of 180 Muslims and 2407 Christians, a whole number of 2587 people¹¹³.

These estimates have to be treated with some caution because the big numbers of Christian *bive* (which, in contrast to Serres, remained high in 1478/79 as well) are not certain to represent actual widows. In any case, the number of people in Zichna, Muslims and Christians, had more or less remained in the same levels during the 24 years elapsing between the two registrations. Moreover, the population of Zichna remained in a state of stagnation well into the following century as shown by population estimates based on successive registrations: 2808 in 1454/55, 2587 in 1478/79, 2374 in 1512/13, 2997 in 1519, 2654 later in the 16th century¹¹⁴.

A basic dissimilarity with Serres can be observed in the overwhelming majority of the Christian element of Zichna. In terms of estimated population, the Muslim

community amounted to only 6.26 % of the whole in 1454/55 and 6.95 % in 1478/79. This situation remained more or less the same in the following century with the Muslims of Zichna amounting 8.9 % in 1512/13, 9.2 % in 1519, and 9.0 % later on during the first half of the 16th century. The Muslims never became numerous in Zichna and a first explanation to this can be relevant to Ottoman policies. There was indeed an official policy to establish a Muslim urban network in the Balkans by either creating new Muslim towns (e.g. Yenice-Vardar), or transforming pre-existing ones and giving them a strongly Muslim character. Nevertheless, this policy was put in practice only in urban centres of some importance (e.g. Serres); with small and less important towns the Ottoman authorities would not spend energy and funds for promoting Muslim settlement.

The patterns of settlement in late medieval Zichna are illuminated to some degree by the evidence of TTD-7 while little contribution is made by the Byzantine documents of the 14th century. The *defter* of 1478/79 is the only one to distinguish the inhabitants of Zichna by the quarters where they lived. Presuming the community of Muslims living in their own quarter (probably together with the authorities and garrison of the town), Christian settlement was arranged in 15 more quarters. In the case of Zichna, the pattern of *mahalle* distinction is not so complicated and disparate as for Serres in the same register. All but two of the Christian quarters were named after the priest of the local parish, e.g. *mahalle-i Papa Todor* etc. The priests who gave their name to the *mahalles* were equally registered together with the other residents. They were the first to be registered in each quarter and are simply referred to as “*mezkûr*” (i.e. “in the *mahalle* of Papa ..., first registered person: the aforementioned”). The same pattern of naming the *mahalle* after the local priest appears too in a 15th-century register of Tirnovo¹¹⁵. Two

remaining quarters of Zichna did not share the pattern of priest-naming, they are described instead by the names Horohosta and Tolos (not to be confused with the similarly named village of the vicinity). By the existence of 13 priest-named quarters one can deduce an equal number of parish churches (excluding the cathedral church of the Taxiarch). Six of those churches are known by name, the ones that were financially controlled only by the diocese and paid no taxes to the state¹¹⁶. The sources of the 14th century do not give information on parish churches but only on four *metochia* established by the monasteries of St. John, Ibêrôn, Philotheou and Chilandar (all references dating from the 1340's and 1350's)¹¹⁷.

The medieval topography of Zichna is still far from being explored. A basic contribution to this matter has been made by Moutsopoulos who provides a sketch reconstruction of the town's walls and other sites. Zichna lay in steep surface on the slopes of a rather tall hill (more than 300 m. height) and was watered by an overflowing river (the "*anapotamos* of Zichna")¹¹⁸. The walls of the town appear to have had an ellipsoid shape with no further distinction between a citadel and the rest of the town appearing in the plan of Moutsopoulos. It would not be implausible, however, to suppose that an internal wall separated the administrative centre and upper class residences from the rest of the town. Moutsopoulos points out at the vestiges of a church, a cistern and two fountains within the circumference of the walls. Inside the fortified area too, he discovered vestiges of a mosque and a bath, laying in a very close distance to each other. This is enough evidence to locate the Muslim quarter inside the walled area. These mosque and bath must have been the only ones in the town, since its Muslim community never became numerous. The Romanite Jewish community, that existed in Zichna prior

to 1453, is described as settled inside Zichna but this is not enough evidence for locating their settlement inside the walls or in an extra-mural quarter (especially when bearing in mind that the Jews were generally discriminated in Byzantine society and their settlement was often separated from the rest of the community)¹¹⁹. Concerning the Christian population too, the existing information is not enough in order to distinguish their settlement between intra and extra-mural. It would be a plausible suggestion, however, to regard the 13 priest-named quarters as laying within the walls and the two quarters of Horohosta and Tolos as extra-mural suburbs.

More about the topography and patterns of settlement in medieval and early modern Zichna can come to light by a complete archaeological survey, or excavation, for unlike Serres the area it occupied is today free of settlement thus available to archaeological research.

Even though closely located to Serres, the *kastron* of Zichna stood on its own right as an urban unit during the 14th and 15th centuries. Most Byzantine and early Ottoman institutions of urban administration can be encountered there. In the 14th century, the villages of the vicinity were organised into a *katepanikion* governed by a *kephalê* based on Zichna. There is also record of a *kastrophylax*, head of the town's garrison, which was occupied in 1321 by Constantine Acheiraitês¹²⁰. The bishopric of Zichna too, was elevated to the rank of metropolitan diocese by 1328, giving the town a status equal to that of Serres in ecclesiastical terms¹²¹. In the same way as in Serres and the other late Byzantine towns, the centrally appointed officials were joined in local government by the local aristocracy of rich landowners. The most characteristic example of local upper class in Zichna is given by the family of Masgidas, the best known among

them John (or Kalojan) Masgidas being present in Zichna in the 1340's and 1350's. Another notable family of local landowners was that of Acheiraitês, with a best known representative in the person of Constantine Acheiraitês, who is reported in 1333 bearing the titles of *sebastos* and *pansebastos* and is, most likely, identical to the one who held the post of *kastrophylax* in 1321¹²². Another local notable was Markos Aggelos who had made generous donations to the monastery of Batopedi by 1348¹²³. Descendants of the Masgidas and Acheiraitês families are also encountered in the 15th century, though their social status must have been not so elaborate by then¹²⁴. This group of rich landowners was complemented by the ecclesiastical nomenclature of the diocese in the formation of the local late Byzantine elite.

While late medieval Zichna apparently had the basic characteristics which would permit 14th and 15th-century contemporaries to regard it as a proper town (i.e. it housed all administrative posts, lay and ecclesiastical, pertaining to a provincial urban centre), it is important to examine how real the urban identity of Zichna was, in accordance to the fundamental criteria of permanent market activity and division of labour in the sense of professional engagement in activities other than agriculture. In this respect, the Byzantine documents of the 14th century offer no evidence of commercial and artisanal activity in Zichna. They do contain references to properties and property transactions but are all concerned with rural type ones (vineyards, mills), or residential houses at the utmost. No records of shops or workshops can be found for 14th-century Zichna such as those existing for Serres. The existence of commercial activity during the 14th century can only be suggested by means of indirect evidence, i.e. by the presence of a local Jewish community, since Byzantine Jews are generally known to have been talented in

commerce and the crafts and, for this reason, they were massively resettled in Istanbul directly after the conquest in part of the Ottoman policy of revitalising the city (including those of Serres and Zichna).

Then, an examination of the economic life of Zichna through the 15th-century registers demonstrates in the best way an actual predominance of agriculture in the economy of the town¹²⁵. While in Serres, those of the town's inhabitants who were primarily involved in agriculture, especially in cereal production, were very few, the situation in Zichna was completely different. The remarkably high amount of fiscal revenue associated with cereal production (37.80 % out of the whole output of the *has* in 1454/55, 26.01 % in 1478/79) points out to a high proportion of agriculturalists among the townsfolk. Viticulture too was in Serres a supplementary activity of persons mainly occupied in non-agricultural jobs. In Zichna, however, it was an economic activity of principal importance. Vineyards were held by Muslims and Christians and those of the latter yielded to the *has*-grantee of the town (i.e. the Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa Karamanî) much more than any other of his local sources of revenue in 1478/79 (22000 *aspers* corresponding to 31.90 % of his whole revenue from Zichna, opposite 1750 *aspers* levied from the Muslim owned vineyards). In the same way, vineyards were the most profitable source of revenue for the diocese of Zichna and the only kind of property held by the monastery of St. John Prodromos in the town¹²⁶.

After cereal and vine production, the other most profitable sources of fiscal revenue were associated with taxation of a poll-tax character, i.e. the *ispençe* and the *niyabet*. The *defters* also supply references to several other rural products and activities, completing the picture of a "town" where agriculture played the first role in its economy.

Local agricultural activity was supported and supplemented by eight water-mills, seven among them being owned by individuals and liable to charges by the *has*-grantee, and one owned by the diocese and tax-exempt.

A local market and the pattern of professional occupation outside agriculture existed indeed in 15th-century Zichna but only in a very limited extent. The only evidence of artisanal activity comes from the *defter* references to pottery (*keramidlik*) which yielded some small amount of revenue to the *has*-grantee as well as to the diocese. Moreover, several persons among the Muslim community of the town appear to be specialised in the craft of cotton-fluffer (*hallaç*). In fact, the Muslims of Zichna do not seem to have been primarily agriculturalists, even though they owned vineyards, for there is no record of a *resm-i kulluk* charge. Any entry of commercial taxation is completely absent in the register of 1454/55 and first appears in the one of 1478/79. In any case, the output of commercial taxation, *niyabet* and *resm-i 'arus* altogether amounted to no more than 6500 *aspers*, a rather insignificant figure when compared to the 17940 *aspers* (in kind) derived from cereal production and 23750 *aspers* (in cash) derived from vines in the same year.

Under these circumstances, one can easily be tempted to regard Zichna as a big village rather than town. Such an opinion, however, is not shared here. Since a local market, some artisanal activity and non-agricultural professional occupations, among some of the inhabitants, existed indeed, Zichna can be labelled a town, even though in marginal terms. In contrast to Serres, however, Zichna was not a self-contained town. Local market must have not been capable to absorb the whole of the town's rural product (no question about the product of the nearby villages) and local manufacture would rather

not be sufficient in meeting demand. As a result, Zichna had to depend extensively on the market and manufacture of Serres in a rather similar way as the villages of the countryside, and become, in this respect, a satellite town of Serres. This is not surprising, since two urban centres of an equal role could simply not co-exist in such a close distance one to the other and be supported by the same more or less countryside.

Chrysoupolis

Medieval Chrysoupolis played an indispensable role within the wider region of the lower Strymon by becoming the outlet to the sea for the whole region. There is enough evidence of imports and exports of goods in this region¹²⁷, thus Chrysoupolis was the obvious terminal of maritime transports. Furthermore, by being located exactly at the mouth of the Strymon, Chrysoupolis controlled the entry to that river, which was navigable by rafts and small boats up to the lake of Achinos. The town's definition as a centre of commercial activity is strongly emphasised by the existence of an imperial customs station (*kommerkion*) there, which is recorded for the first time late in the 11th century with the occasion of custom immunities first granted to the Venetian merchants in that period¹²⁸. An intensive archaeological survey of the area around the Strymon delta shows that medieval Chrysoupolis (a "new town" existing from the 9th century onwards) was a properly fortified settlement, with its walls clearly separating a citadel from the lower town, and covering together with its suburbs an area of about 70 hectares¹²⁹.

From the 12th century down to the 14th Chrysoupolis lost its importance as a customs station, since transit-trade in the Byzantine lands passed under the control of Italian and Ragousan merchants to whom the Byzantine state had conceded custom

immunities. Still, Chrysoupolis lived down to the late 15th century depending on agriculture, on the locally developed salterns, which are recorded for the first time in the 14th century, and on the harbouring facilities it offered to merchant and other vessels. Harbouring charges were still collected during the 14th century (the *skaliatikon* of Byzantine documents), if not from Italian merchant ships, at least from local fishing boats and those carrying to the Athonite monasteries the product of their estates in the region.

The history of early Ottoman Chrysoupolis, which survived up to the early years of the 16th century and was finally abandoned after being hit by a piratical raid, would have been completely obscure, lest the references to it contained in the TTD-7 come to light. By 1478/79, Chrysoupolis had seriously declined and what kept it alive were the salterns. Instead of a real town it rather was a settlement of saltern workers (described as *cemaat-i tuzcuyân*), 2 *hane* of Muslims and 76 *hane* plus 10 *bive* of Christians, joined by 4 *hane* of Christian peasants, corresponding to an approximate number of 440 people. According to the *defter*'s information, the saltern workers were liable to a tithe (*'öşr*) on their product, which should not be interpreted as an actual tenth of it perhaps they were levied at a proportion higher than that. The peasants were liable to the normal charges on their product, which included wheat, barley, oats, wine, saffron and fish, and the *ispence*. Finally, harbouring facilities (*iskele*) were still available in Chrysoupolis and the related charge amounted to 600 *aspers*, a rather modest amount¹³⁰. The *defter* provides no more information on the administration and status of Chrysoupolis and no record of the person responsible for collecting the reported charges. From what is generally known about salt production in the early Ottoman period, we can deduce that the salterns of Chrysoupolis were directly disposed by the central treasury and exploited through tax-farming. The

certain contractor who was responsible to collect the dues of salt producers would have to collect the levy of the four peasants attached to that community and also the harbour fees.

In trying to suggest an answer to the question why did Chrysoupolis decline, it is logical to relate this question with the historic importance of the settlement and the role it played within the economic context of the wider region. As it is already mentioned, Chrysoupolis was the maritime outlet, the harbour of the region, thus its main role was to serve maritime communication and transport. In any case, Chrysoupolis never reached especially high levels of importance as a harbour and cannot be compared with other Aegean ports, such as Thessalonica, Almyros, Negreponte, Smyrna, Ayasoluk etc., in this respect. It seems that Chrysoupolis had reached the peak of its importance as a harbour during the 11th and the 12th century, when it housed a customs station and Venetian merchants operated there. Later on, as the Venetians, Ragusans and other westerners concentrated their maritime commercial activity on particular localities, e.g. Thessalonica, Almyros, Negreponte for the Venetians, Thessalonica and Arta for the Ragusans¹³¹, Chrysoupolis was unlikely to have been frequented by westerner merchants. Therefore, the commercial and maritime importance of Chrysoupolis had already declined by the beginning of the 14th century and things only went worse during the rest of the period that concerns us here, until the final abandonment of the settlement early in the 16th century.

Yet, the harbour continued to operate throughout the 14th, even during the 15th century. During that later period of its history, the port had no importance in the carrying out of maritime transit trade. Instead, it was rather used for the export of agricultural product from the wider region. As we have seen, in the 14th century, many estates in this

region were owned by persons living elsewhere, who would take the product they received in form of rent and carry it to other markets elsewhere, and the same applied with the athonite monasteries too¹³². In this respect, it is reasonable to suggest that, during the 14th century, the port of Chrysoupolis mainly served absent landowners to take away the rents they received in kind. Moreover, Chrysoupolis still had some importance in political terms during the period 1356-1383, when it was one of the strongholds of the autonomous rulers of the coastal region of Southeastern Macedonia, the brothers John and Alexis.

With the Ottoman conquest Chrysoupolis lost any political importance it had previously, moreover, its economic role further declined as a consequence of the changes in the regime of the lands and relative revenues that were introduced by the new masters. Within the Ottoman system, there were no longer absent lords and landowners, who would need to carry product to distant markets. Most of the *timar*-holders and other fiscal grantees were locally established, therefore, the product they received in the form of tithes did not need to be taken away. At the same time, intra-regional trade was mainly served by land-routes, as it did since the previous century already.

As a consequence of the previously stated developments, Chrysoupolis lost most of whatever maritime importance it had retained in the previous century. However, its harbour continued to be used and serve some ship during the 15th century as well, as we are informed by the record of a harbouring charge from the data of 1478/79. There is proof that the harbour was used by ship other than fishing vessels, because the relevant charge (*iskele*) is recorded separately from that on fishing (*dalyan*), while in all other settlements where a harbouring charge is present (i.e. some settlements around the lake of Achinos),

it is recorded together with the fishing charge, an evidence that it only concerned fishing boats. In any case, the output of the harbouring charge that was effective in Chrysoupolis in 1478/79 is very low, 600 *aspers* only, which indicates that any maritime activity was insignificant by then¹³³.

After having lost its main economic role, that of the maritime outlet, Chrysoupolis would logically decline, as it actually did according to the explicit evidence of the TTD-7. The settlement was kept alive then by the last remaining resource, the salterns, and this explains why most of the inhabitants were involved in the production of salt.

Notes

¹ Even modern scholars give preponderance to the administrative criterion in order to define the Byzantine town. cf. Zakythinos, *La ville byzantine*, 75.

² Serres is repeatedly labeled as the: *şehir-i Siroz*.

³ Arc. St. Jean, n. 37.1, p. 121.

⁴ A. Cuvillier, *Manuel de Sociologie*, Paris 1950, 357. Cited in Zakythinos, *La ville byzantine*, 75. Zakythinos remarks that these criteria may not be strictly applicable to the byzantine towns and argues in favor of the preponderance of their administrative role and the legacy of ancient urbanism that accompanied many of them. *Ibidem*, 75. Zakythinos's thesis cannot be accepted here as enough to provide the definition of town in the late byzantine and early ottoman context.

⁵ R. Hilton, *English and French Towns in Feudal Society. A comparative study*. Cambridge 1992, 6-7.

⁶ Ferjančić, *Ser*, *passim*.

⁷ M. Sokoloski, "Serskiot vilaet vo XV vek", *Glasnik*, 18/3 (1974), 107-25.

⁸ Nasturel – Beldiceanu, *Les églises: JÖB*, 27 (1978), 269-85.

⁹ Karanastasês, *Neomartyr: Byzantina*, 16 (1991), 197-262.

¹⁰ Balta, *Les vakıfs*, *passim*.

¹¹ S. Petmezas, "Serrès et sa région sous les ottomans", in P. Odorico (ed.), *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos, prêtre de Serrès en Macédoine (XVIIe siècle)*. Paris 1996, 429-85.

¹² Ferjančić, *Ser*, 3-4, 136.

¹³ For Andronikos Kantakouzênos : Arc. St. Jean, n. 11.1-2, p. 60.

¹⁴ The area of the present study corresponds to the territory of six 14th-century *katepanikia*: the one of Strymmôn, a dependency of the *theme* of Thessalonica, and those of Serres, Zichna, Popolia, Zabaltia and Trilission-Brontou, dependencies of the *theme* of Serres. Occasionally, more than one *katepanikia* had the same governor (*kephalê*), e.g. Alexios Tzamlakôn was at the same time *kephalê* of Serres and Popolia in 1326. Arc. St. Jean, n. 19.1-2, p. 75.

¹⁵ Papageôrgiou, *Serrai: BZ*, 3 (1894), 289-90.

¹⁶ Xyggopoulos, *Ereunai*, 22-24, 43-45.

¹⁷ The same as in 14th-century Thessalonica, where the notables lived mostly in the *heptapyrgion* citadel.

¹⁸ Akropolitês, 74.

- ¹⁹ Xyggopoulos, *Ereunai*, 19.
- ²⁰ Act. Kutl., n. 8.12, p. 51.
- ²¹ Act. Kutl., n. 4, p. 43, n. 19, p. 89, n. 33, p. 130.
- ²² This is an unidentified location, which should not be confused with the village of Libobistos in the district of Melnik. Cf. Arc. St. Jean, pp. 6, 115.
- ²³ Act. Iv. IV, n. 85.20-22, p. 52.
- ²⁴ Arc. St. Jean, n. 35.3-7, pp. 115-16.
- ²⁵ Act. Chil., n. 83, pp. 177-78, n. 89, pp. 189-90.
- ²⁶ *Mahalle-i Kamenica*. TTD-7, 229. In later periods, many among the residents of Kamenica were oriented to agricultural occupations, up to the point that, in the 19th century, a corporation (the “*isnaf-i çiftçiyân*”) was established. P. Samsarês, “Agnôsto Byzantino Metochi tês Monês Chelandariou stis Serres: hê Monê tou Hagiou Nikolaou Kamenikeias”, *Makedonika*, 26 (1987-88), 195.
- ²⁷ *Çiftlik Kamenica muttasıl-i şehir*. TTD-7, 341.
- ²⁸ Arc. St. Jean, n. 34, pp. 112-13.
- ²⁹ Arc. St. Jean, n. 9.21-25, p. 55, n. 35.17-19, p. 116.
- ³⁰ TTD-7, 237, 270, 341.
- ³¹ Arc. St. Jean, n. 8.4-6, p. 52.
- ³² Act. Kutl., n. 8.14-15, pp. 51-52.
- ³³ See above, pp. 68, 78.
- ³⁴ So, with the Ottoman conquest, the two easily distinguishable basic parts, that composed the late Byzantine town, became three. It was a common pattern of the late Byzantine town to be composed by more than one distinct parts. Cf. Bryer, *Late Byzantine Town*: in Bryer-Lowry, *Continuity and Change*, 272-76.
- ³⁵ Bryer, *Late Byzantine Town*: in Bryer-Lowry, *Continuity and Change*, 276.
- ³⁶ Ferjančić, *Ser*, 3.
- ³⁷ Akropolitês, 74-75.
- ³⁸ Including those persons who are recorded in the recently published second chartulary of the archives of Prodromos monastery.
- ³⁹ Sjöberg, *Pre-industrial City*, 64.
- ⁴⁰ See above, pp. 187-90.
- ⁴¹ Ö.L. Barkan, “Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys”, in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the present day*, London 1970, 167-68.
- ⁴² TTD-3, 173. These figures are reproduced in: Nasturel-Beldiceanu, *Les églises: JÖB*, 27 (1978), 272. Stojanovski, *Gradovite*, 62. Balta, *Composition démographique*: in Balta, *Problèmes et approches*, 152. All have failed to take notice of the slight errors of the scribe concerning the numbers of the Christians.
- ⁴³ TTD-3, 173.
- ⁴⁴ TTD-3, 316. Karanastasês is the only one among the scholars who dealt with the population of Serres to take into account those extra registered persons and add their number to the scribe’s figures. Karanastasês, *Neomartyr: Byzantina*, 16 (1991), 216.
- ⁴⁵ According to the formula: $(494 * 5) + (70 * 3) = 2680 + (2680 * 10 \%) = 2948$
- ⁴⁶ cf. Karanastasês, *Neomartyr: Byzantina*, 16 (1991), 222.
- ⁴⁷ Karanastasês, *Neomartyr: Byzantina*, 16 (1991), 220-21.
- ⁴⁸ TTD-3, 173.
- ⁴⁹ NLS/OD, f. 122A a.e. 525A. Balta has used this fragment for drawing up the list of *mahalles* in Serres and for providing the total number of fiscal units in the town. Cf. Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 252-56. All references to that source are given through Balta’s book.
- ⁵⁰ Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 256. The scribes of that register followed the practice of keeping no records of the Muslim *bives*. For some unknown reason, however, they include in their totals a figure of two Muslim *bives*. These have not been taken into account in the present population estimates.
- ⁵¹ $(480 * 5) + 44 = 2444 + (2444 * 10 \%) = 2688$
 $(259 * 5) + (64 * 3) + 37 = 1524 + (1524 * 5 \%) = 1600.$
- ⁵² These are the corrected figures I establish after counting the registered persons one by one. The scribe’s totals are 535 *hane* 20 *mücerred* and 70 *bive* for the Muslims, and 282 *hane*, 3 *mücerred*, 64 *bive* for the Christians (TTD-7, 229, 237). Nasturel and Beldiceanu give a number of 534 *hane*, 25 *mücerred* and 75 *bive*, for the Muslims, and reproduce the scribe’s figures for the Christians. Cf. Nasturel-Beldiceanu, *Les*

églises: JÖB, 27 (1978), 272. Balta gives a number of 582 *hane*, 20 *mücerred* and 70 *bive*, for the Muslims, and 286 *hane*, 3 *mücerred*, 64 *bive*, for the Christians. Cf. Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 258, 260.

⁵³ $(582 * 5) + (70 * 3) + 20 = 3140 + (3140 * 10 \%) = 3454$,

$(289 * 5) + (62 * 3) + 3 = 1634 + (1634 * 5 \%) = 1716$.

⁵⁴ Todorov, *Balkan City*, 29.

⁵⁵ See Table III.

⁵⁶ Karanastasês, *Neomartyr: Byzantina*, 16 (1991), 222.

⁵⁷ Such as the 33 residents of Serres who were included in the registration of the Kaladendra *nahiye* in 1454/55. TTD-3, 316.

⁵⁸ The lost sections of the *defter* concern regions lying far enough from Serres. It is, therefore, very unlikely that people of Serres would have been ascribed in fiscal assignments of quite far away regions.

⁵⁹ St. Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium, 1204-1453*, Alabama 1985, 62, 241, 189-90. M. A. Epstein, *The Ottoman Jewish Communities and their Role in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Freiburg 1980, 178-79.

⁶⁰ TTD-167, 64-65. Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 265-69.

⁶¹ St. Nicholas can probably be identified as the similarly named church, which became later a *metochi* of Sinai. St. Basil must correspond to the 14th-century church of the same name that lay in the eastern part of the town close to the main eastern gate (the so-called Paraportion). Cf. Arc. St. Jean, n. 9.19-20, p. 55. The church of Virgin Heliokalê lay outside the walls of the town by its eastern side. Cf. Papageorgiou, *Serrai: BZ*, 3 (1894), 243, 290.

⁶² TTD-7, 235. Balta, *Composition démographique*: in Balta, *Problèmes et approches*, 159.

⁶³ TTD-7, 230.

⁶⁴ TTD-7, 221-22.

⁶⁵ Papageorgiou, *Serrai: BZ*, 3 (1894), 255.

⁶⁶ Balta reads another Christian quarter of the town as *mahalle-i balıkçıyân*, but the scribe's writing cannot justify such a reading. The entry can actually be transcribed as "yaycıyân" (bowmen), a word with no reasonable meaning in this context. I resorted to a slightly different reading of the word as *yağcıyân* (dealers in oil). TTD-7, 230. Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 259.

⁶⁷ These estimates are established through the following calculations: for the citadel, I assume that the military upper-class, the garrison and the high-rank personnel of civil administration resided there. To their estimated number of 314, which represents the conventionally accepted increase by 10 % on the outcome of the calculation of the Muslim population, I add 53 people who correspond to the 10 *hane* and one *bive* registered in the *mahalle-i Kule* (TTD-7, 229). The outcome of the addition (367) is subtracted from the total number of Muslims in the town (3454), the remaining 3087 are regarded as residents of the extra-mural urban area. In the same way, the estimate of 69 people, that represents the 12 *hane* and two *bive* registered in the extra-mural Christian quarters (TTD-7, 234, 235, 237) are subtracted from the total number of Christians (1716). The remaining 1647 constitute the population of the fortified lower town, while the 69 Christians of extra-mural residence are added to the 3087 Muslims who remained after having counted away the estimated number of Kule residents.

⁶⁸ The surface measurement of the citadel and the fortified lower town is based on the map provided in Xyggopoulos, *Ereunai*, 2. The estimation of the approximate extent of the 15th-century extramural urban settlement is based on the map provided in P. Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos prêtre de Sèrres en Macédoine (XVII siècle)*, Paris 1996.

⁶⁹ The density of population in Istanbul was about 40 per hectare in 1477, in Thessalonica it rose from about 30 to about 37 per hectare between 1430 and 1478/79, in Trebizond from about 35 per hectare in 1438 to about 60 per hectare in ca. 1486. Cf. Bryer, *Late Byzantine Town*: in Bryer-Lowry, *Continuity and Change*, 270. In any case, those towns were planned and fortified in past times with the expectation to house much more people than 15th-century realities would permit.

⁷⁰ TTD-167, 64-65. Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 265-69.

⁷¹ In 1478/79, the average number of registered persons (fiscal units) per *mahalle* is only seven for the Christian but 27 for the Muslim ones. See Table V.

⁷² For the reality of space availability in late Byzantine towns, cf. Bryer, *Late Byzantine Town*: in Bryer-Lowry, *Continuity and Change*, 271-73.

⁷³ Arc. St. Jean, n. 9.21-25, p. 55, n. 35.12-15.17-19, p. 116. Act. Kutl., n. 18.41, pp. 85-86.

⁷⁴ Act. Kutl., n. 8.14-15, p.52.

⁷⁵ Act. Phil., n. 6.22-24, p. 19. Act. Chil., n. 105.11-13, pp. 216-17.

⁷⁶ Paul Bairoch, *Cities and Economic Development*, 22.

⁷⁷ See Table VI.

⁷⁸ TTD-7, 22.

⁷⁹ Inalcik, *Raiyyet Rûsûmu: Belleten*, 23 (1959), 602-608. *idem*, *Çift-Resmi: EI²*, II, 32. *idem*, *İspendje: EI²*, IV, 211.

⁸⁰ TTD-3, 173.

⁸¹ TTD-7, 237.

⁸² See Table VI.

⁸³ In the TTD-7 there is reference to the “*bağat-i Müslimân*”. TTD-7, 237.

⁸⁴ “*Yasak-i kepezciyân ki der nefsi-i şehir-i Siroz mı budand in ast ki zıkrı aved...şehir kafileleri-i mezkûr Katakuzino'nun mülk yerinde dedikleri bağın haraçını beğiliğe alırlarmış, öyle olsa mezkur yer için haraçtan sahib-i mülk'e üç bin akça virürler imiş*”. TTD-3, 316-17.

⁸⁵ TTD-7, 221-22. Yet, the actual notion of that *mahalle* name is not related with a possible dominant presence of tanners but with the fact that the tanners' guild had founded the local mosque.

⁸⁶ See Table VII. The occupations of *imam*, *müezzin* and priest are not regarded as professional ones. For a presentation of the profession that were exercised by the Serreans in 1454/55 see also: S. Petmezas, “*Ereunes schetika me tê Dêmographia kai to Oikistiko Plegma tês Periochês tôn Serrôn kata to 15o kai 16o aiôna*” in Municipality of Serres (ed.), *Hoi Serres kai hê Periochê tous apo tèn Archaia stê Metabyzantinê Koinônia: Proceedings of the International Conference (29 September – 3 October 1993)*, I, Serres 1998, 289-90.

⁸⁷ Three watchmen are recorded in the TTD-7, Mehmed, Kasim Edirneli and Lütü, who all bore the title of *mehter* (“chamberlain”): “...*bu mezkurler'un elinde firman-i humayun vardır ki 'ass nevbeten çalıp muaf ve müsellemler olanlar*”. TTD-7, 224. They are registered after the residents of the quarter of Hacı Kurd and were, most likely, enrolled in the nightshift at the covered market (thus their designation as *mehter*, i.e. chamberlains at the covered market), enjoying a tax exemption in return. N. Beldiceanu refers to them but does not give their exact number, so his reader is left with the impression that all residents of that quarter were involved in the duty: “*À Serrès les gardiens étaient recrutés parmi la population musulmane. Ils provenaient du quartier Hâğğı Qurd. Ce quartier comprenait vingt-deux maisons; à cela s'ajoutaient deux maisons de célibataires et trois maisons de veuves*”. Beldiceanu, *Ville*, 114. More information about the night watchmen in Serres is supplied by a document of 1512. Cf. Beldiceanu, *Ville*, n. 23, pp. 266-68.

⁸⁸ TTD-7, 229.

⁸⁹ Beldiceanu, *Ville*, 86-89.

⁹⁰ John Phalakros is reported just once in 1305. Act. de Kutl., n. 7, p. 49. *PLP*, XII, 29591. Theodore Logariastês was the scribe of several contracts in the 1320's. Act. Chil., n. 93.25-26, p. 200, n. 99.27-28, p. 208, n. 98.21-22, p. 207, n. 105.38-39, p. 217, n. 108.28-29, p. 223. *PLP*, VI, 14993.

⁹¹ The monastery of St. John Prodromos was reportedly in possession of an oil-press in the 14th century and of a linseed press in the 15th. For the oil-press: Archives de St. Jean, n. 35.14-15, p. 116. For the linseed press (*bezirhane*): TTD-3, 270. Zachariadou, *Prodromos: SOF*, 28 (1969), 7-8. The owner of the *bozahane* is not mentioned but the tax it was charged was directed to the *has*-grantee of the town. TTD-7, 237.

⁹² TTD-7, 237, 270.

⁹³ The five-millstone mills were charged at 150 *aspers*, the single-millstone paid 30 *aspers*, the two-millstone paid 60 *aspers*, and a seven-millstone one paid 200 *aspers*. TTD-7, 237.

⁹⁴ TTD-7, 270. See Table VI.

⁹⁵ For the typology of pre-industrial towns in a Mediterranean context, see Braudel, *Mediterranean*, I, 323.

⁹⁶ A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200*, Cambridge 1989, 199.

⁹⁷ Charanis, *Town and country*, 136.

⁹⁸ For the names of some members of the local senate, cf. Act. Esph., n. 27.1-3, pp. 162-63. For Nikêtas Pediasêmos and Doukas Nestoggos, cf. Act. Chil., n. 146, pp. 309-10, n. 151, pp. 320-21. For Kabasilas and Phakrasês, cf. Act. Lavr. III, n. 148.7-8, p. 111. For the two members of the Raoul family, cf. Kravari, *Pholothou: TM*, 10 (1987), n. 5.35-36, p. 314.

⁹⁹ The properties which Charitôn sold to Kosmas Pagkalos prior to 1313 included 93 hectares of arable land, 0.4 hectares of vineyards, three workshops, two bakeries, and ten residential houses (one among them being double-floor in its own courtyard). Act. Kutl., n. 8.12-18, pp. 51-52.

¹⁰⁰ Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires*, 14-23. Charanis, *Social structure: Byzantinoslavica*, 12 (1951), 149. Bryer, *Late Byzantine Town*: in Bryer-Lowry, *Continuity and Change*, 277.

¹⁰¹ Hayreddin Bacdar was alive in 1478/79 and present among the residents of the *mahalle* bearing his name.

¹⁰² Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 105-106, 262, 266.

¹⁰³ Charanis, *Social Structure: Byzantinoslavica*, 12 (1951), 151-52. *idem.*, *Town and Country*, 137. Todorov, *Balkan City*, 108-24. Beldiceanu, *Ville*, 47-49.

¹⁰⁴ Arc. St. Jean, n. 34, pp. 112-13. Act. Lavr. III, n. 143, pp. 91-92.

¹⁰⁵ Inalcik, *Economy and society*, 59.

¹⁰⁶ Nasturel-Beldiceanu, *Les églises: JÖB*, 27 (1978), 273, 278-80, 284-85.

¹⁰⁷ See Table IVb.

¹⁰⁸ Information about Zichna deriving from the register of 1512/13 is cited in Stojanovski, *Gradovite*, 67-68.

¹⁰⁹ This is the result of my own counting and quite different from the scribe's total numbers. The scribe gives a total figure of 32 *hane* of Muslims (correct), and 395 *hane*, 20 *mücerred* and 148 *bive* of Christians (TTD-3, 432). Nevertheless, his figure of 395 Christian *hane* is not written clearly and can be easily mistaken for 295. This mistake is made by Stojanovski who, reproducing the scribe's totals, gives a number of 295 Christian *hane* (Stojanovski, *Dokumenti IV*, 355. *idem.*, *Gradovite*, 62-63. Nasturel and Beldiceanu give a figure of 393 *hane*, 20 *mücerred* and 148 *bive* for the Christians (Nasturel-Beldiceanu, *Les églises: JÖB*, 27 (1978), 273. None of the former took the extra registered tax-exempt persons into account.

¹¹⁰ $(32 * 5) = 160 + (160 * 10 \%) = 176$ Muslims and $(405 * 5) + 47 + (145 * 3) = 2507 + (2507 * 5 \%) = 2632$ Christians; whole population: 2808.

¹¹¹ TTD-7, 121-22. Nasturel and Beldiceanu give a more mistaken figure of 390 *hane*, 2 *mücerred*, 128 *bive* for the Christians. Nasturel-Beldiceanu, *Les églises: JÖB*, 27 (1978), 273.

¹¹² “*Cemaat-i reaya ki müteferrikdir gayr köylerde sakın olmuşlar*”. TTD-7, 121.

¹¹³ $(32 * 5) + 4 = 164 + (164 * 10 \%) = 180$ Muslims and $(383 * 5) + 2 + (125 * 3) = 2292 + (2292 * 5 \%) = 2407$ Christians.

¹¹⁴ For 1512/13: Stojanovski, *Gradovite*, 67. For 1519: TTD-70, 53 (cf. Tables IIa-IIb). According to the records supplied by TTD-403, which was drawn up during the reign of Süleyman I with a strong probability for 1530/31, the Muslims appear to consist of 35 *hane*, 21 *mücerred* and 7 *bive* (about 239 people) and the Christians of 394 *hane*, 45 *mücerred*, 95 *bive* (about 2415 people). TTD-403, 18, 25.

¹¹⁵ Turski Izvori II, 335-53.

¹¹⁶ Those were the churches of St. Dêmétrios, St. Marina, St. Trias, St. George, St. Constantine and Lasko. TTD-3, 434, TTD-7, 122. Nasturel-Beldiceanu, *Les églises: JÖB*, 27 (1978), 284-85.

¹¹⁷ Arc. St. Jean, n. 39.58-60, p. 129. Act. Iv. IV, n. 91.48-49, p. 128. Act. Phil., n. 9.28-30, pp. 25-26. Act. Chil., n. 141.7-11, pp. 297-98.

¹¹⁸ Act. Iv. IV, n. 94.15, p. 144.

¹¹⁹ “*hoi Ioudaioi hoi entos tôn Zichnôn*”: Arc. St. Jean, n. 39.59-60, p. 129.

¹²⁰ Act. Chil., n. 69.91-93, p. 158.

¹²¹ Arc. St. Jean, n. 24.1, p. 87.

¹²² Arc. St. Jean, n. 28.11-12, p. 98.

¹²³ Goudas, *Batopedi: EEBS*, 4 (1927), n. 14.21-22, p. 236.

¹²⁴ Two brothers, Manol veled-i Manciz and Yorgi veled-i Manciz are registered in the quarter of Papa Vatac (Batatzês) in 1478/79. TTD-7, 119. In pages 114 and 116 of TTD-7 are records of two persons called Ahirat (one of them a priest).

¹²⁵ See Table VIII.

¹²⁶ See Table VIII.

¹²⁷ Laiou, *Koinônikes Dynameis*, 212. Where examples of Serrean merchants dealing in import and export of goods are given.

¹²⁸ G. Tafel – G. Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden zur älteren Handels und Staatsgeschichte des Republik Venedig*, vol. I, Vienna 1856, n. 23. Cited in A. Dunn, “From Polis to Kastron in Southern Macedonia: Amphipolis, Khrysoupolis and the Strymon Delta”, *Castrum*, 5 (1999), 406.

¹²⁹ For the historical topography of medieval Khrysoupolis, see: A. Dunn, *Topography*, 317, 327-30. *idem.*, “From Polis to Kastron in Southern Macedonia: Amphipolis, Khrysoupolis and the Strymon Delta”, *Castrum*, 5 (1999), 399-413. (Among his several publications dealing with this subject).

¹³⁰ TTD-7, 217-18 (the whole entry on Chrysoupolis). Genoises, Ragousan and Venetian merchants, who were mostly in control of transit trade even after the establishment of Ottoman rule, were normally exempt from custom dues, since these were regarded as being covered by the tribute paid to the Sultan by their hometowns (for the Venetians, this was in effect in periods they were at peace with the Ottomans, in case of war they simply could not trade in Ottoman territories).

¹³¹ B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Âge*, Paris – The Hague 1961, 67-68, 88, 96-109. V. Tchentsova, “L’ évolution des marchés locaux et la présence des Occidentaux dans les villes de province balkaniques aux XIIIe – XVe siècles”, *Pré-actes du XXe Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, I, Paris 2001, 307-13.

¹³² This is indicated by a reference to ships, belonging to the monasteries of Mt. Athos, that operated by the mouth of the river Strymon. Solovjev-Mošin, *Povelje*, n. 5.56-61, pp. 30-32.

¹³³ TTD-7, 217-18.

Conclusion

The aim of carrying out this study was to approach and expose in a generalized way some basic aspects of the history of the particular region, the rather big part of Southeastern Macedonia, which was chosen to serve here as the field of a case study. These basic aspects are the socioeconomic and the demographic, which were chosen to be studied in a, more or less, long term perspective, throughout a period two centuries long, that corresponds to the transition from one regime to another. This transition, from the late Byzantine to the early Ottoman forms, was accompanied by several changes in the socioeconomic structures, however, many aspects within this wider field remained unaltered during this period. Therefore, in this study I take into account the aspects of continuity and change, throughout this transitional period, and try to approach them in their historic process.

The field of socioeconomic conditions is a vague one. In order to examine it in an inclusive and comprehensive way, and adequately expose its basic aspects, I basically conceive it as a question of revenue, more precisely, how revenue is generated (the productive activities) and how it is distributed (an aspect mainly concerned with the several groups in the higher social strata that received revenues generated by the producing population, in form of taxes, rents etc.). The demographic aspect is studied in its relation to the socioeconomic developments and is mostly concerned with the measure of the population. This long-term approach at a regional level results to a lot of details, which have been handled by incorporating them in the many tables that illuminate the text, the small ones within it, the bigger ones in a separate section at the end.

Apparently, this is a comparative study and, as the bulk of data are concentrated in two chronically distant periods, the first half of the 14th century and the middle and second half of the 15th century, the comparisons have to be done, first, in the long term, between a period when the region still was under firm Byzantine control and a period when the Ottoman forms were crystallized already, second, in a shorter term, the 25-year period that separates the two Ottoman registrations and corresponds to the reign of Mehmed II. The short term comparison between the data of the two registrations sheds light to the developments marking the reign of this influential and controversial sultan and contributes to the discussion of important questions relating to the social and political history of the early Ottoman state.

From the beginning of the 14th century to the early 1340's, this region was under a firm control of the Byzantine emperors. Even though the Byzantine state was continuously weakening, centrifugal and decentralizing tendencies in the political sphere did not emerge before the period of the civil war of the 1340's and the following Serbian conquests. Nevertheless, the decline of the Byzantine state during the first decades of the 14th century is attested by plenty of evidence from this region. That process of decline is implicit in the continuous losing of control by the state over property and, generally, sources of revenue in favour of individuals and monasteries. It is interesting, that often those sources of revenue became private possessions of individuals who previously held them as fiscal grants by the state in return of services. The expansion of monastic property too is a development of the 14th century. While very few Athonite monasteries held some possessions in this region until the end of the 13th century, in the course of the following century, most of the monasteries of Mt. Athos established extensive domains

there. Equally, the local monastery of St. John Prodromos of Mt. Menoikion, starting from a modest background in the 13th century, when it was founded, gradually developed into one of the most prestigious proprietors of the region. The culmination of the expansion of private and monastic property was realized after the Serbian conquest (between 1343 and 1345), as Stephen Dušan was not interested in extracting revenues from the conquered Byzantine lands, he preferred to legitimize his authority instead, and his successors, in the semi-independent serbo-byzantine principality of Serres, were too weak to establish a firm control over the sources of revenue.

This was done by the Ottomans, who, after annexing this region in 1382-1383, gradually established the state ownership of the land and a firm control over the other sources of revenue, which they allocated in form of fiscal grants (with a few exceptions of freehold possessions and those of pious endowments). As a result, the late Byzantine group of landowning notables vanished. Few exceptions of men who retained some role and prominence in local affairs appear during the first years after the conquest, and those were the first Christian to be given *timars*, as it is indicated by the case of Dêmétrios Bryennios Laskaris in Serres. Later on, these lay notables had completely vanished. By the middle of the 15th century, the few Christians who held *timars* in this region do not appear to have had any political role within the Christian community of the region. Such a role was retained by the church, therefore, some care was taken about its finances and the religious institutions continued holding some elementary pieces of property. Indeed, we encounter three Christian religious bodies in this region, which had a privileged status during the 15th century. Those were the dioceses of Serres and Zichna, as well as the monastery of St. John Prodromos at Mt. Menoikion, which were completely free from

taxation in 1454/55 (at least from those taxes that are normally recorded in a *tahrir defter*), and the first two continued being so in 1478/79. Moreover, the monks of Prodromos were in possession of a *timar* in 1454/55. However, irrespective of the prominent status that many religious institutions retained, their possessions were considerably reduced compared to the late Byzantine period. This is best demonstrated by the case of the monasteries of Mt. Athos. During the early years after the Ottoman conquest, some Athonite monasteries continued to be in control of the villages they held in the past, but, sooner or later, they lost them. By the middle of the 15th century, neither village nor peasants were under the control of any of those monasteries. The monasteries remained in possession of some pieces of property in those villages, for which we are informed by later registers of the 16th century, but, they were normally taxed for them and kept them under the provisos of the *tasarruf* scheme, in a similar way as the peasants did with their own assets.

With respect to the short term comparison, the developments of the 25-year period separating the two registrations confirm what is generally known about the policies of Mehmed II. By being one of the first Balkan regions to be incorporated in the Ottoman state and due to its location between the major cities of the Ottoman dominions, Istanbul and Thessalonica, this region was a central land by the middle of the 15th century already. Its strong association with the court was a reality, as it is proved by the big number of its members who held *timars* there (the *emir-ahor*, janissaries, sons of janissaries, falconers, hound-keepers, *silahdar* etc.). This association was strengthened by 1478/79, furthermore, the developments of the period in preceding period underline the centralizing policies of Mehmed II and his effort to increase the size and extent the

finances of the army. The large fiscal domains (*has*) that were established over the towns were no longer allocated to the local *subaşı*s but to members of the court (the domain of Serres to the *kilar-başı*, the domain of Zichna to the Grand Vizier), the sultanic domains were expanded, villages that were previously controlled by individuals as *mülk* were transformed into *timar*, and the number of non-military *timars* decreased in favour of the military ones (in consequence to those developments, the monks of Prodromos lost their *timar*, which was given to two Muslims, most likely soldiers). Moreover, the fiscal output was everywhere increased to a considerable degree, even though this did not correspond to any significant economic growth.

The second aspect of this study, the question of how revenue was generated, is concerned with the economic structures and activities, as well as with the demographic developments. In this field the element of continuity is strong. Under the Byzantine, as well as the Ottoman regime, the region had a predominantly rural economy oriented in peasant subsistence, with the cultivation of cereals and viticulture being the principal and, more or less, uniform economic activities. Everywhere that the alternatives of fishing and mining could be realized, even being the principal economic activity in some places, the locals resorted to them throughout this two-century long period. The town of Serres played the role of the local centre of commerce and industry, by serving the surrounding districts and, at the same time owing its development to the production of the countryside. The second town of the presently-studied region, Zichna, had a complementary role to that of Serres in those fields, while Chrysoupolis, the maritime outlet of the region, declined in result, most probably, of a considerable reduction of maritime traffic.

The period between the mid 14th and mid 15th centuries is generally believed as a period of crisis and decline, especially on demographic matters. This could not be conclusively confirmed by the present study, because of the absence of adequate demographic data from the 14th century. In any case, there are indications of a demographic decline in the significant reducing of the population of Radolibos between 1341 and 1454/55, and, more, in the unstable and precarious demographic situation that is apparent in the period between 1454/55 and 1478/79. The disproportionately big numbers of widows in Serres, Zichna, and many villages, that appear in the records of 1454/55, probably reflect a recent outbreak of an epidemic or a fiscal trick related with preparation for *sürgün*. In fact, the Christian population in the town of Serres was much reduced in 1478/79 compared with 24 years earlier and this was most likely due to their being transferred elsewhere, in a similar way to what had happened with the local Jews by 1454/55 already.

With regard to the whole region, the size of the population of the countryside rose to some extent, but, this was not a uniform pattern and many villages appear to have had their population reduced by 1478/79. Nevertheless, a significant increase marks the amounts of tax imposed on the peasants, at disproportionate levels to any rising of the population. This development does not reflect economic growth but the enforcement of a heavier taxation by the state, as the latter needed to finance its continuous military undertakings. There is also some evidence, from the cases of Doxompous and Radolibos, that the production of cereals was enhanced in the 15th century, which can be explained either as a consequence of economic developments, since the peasants came to a direct

possession of the fields of arable, or a result of enforcement by the state, related to the needs of the army.

Table I

List of *timars* in the *vilayets* of Serres, Zichna and Keşişlik in 1454/55 and 1478/79

i. Vilayet of Serres (1454/55)

| No | Holder(s) | Village(s) (revenue) | Revenue in <i>aspers</i> | <i>hassa</i> | TTD-3 page |
|------|---|--|-----------------------------|--|---------------|
| 1. | Çura serasker gulam-i mir | Kato İvrendi (10473) Kravasmun (hisse) (1898) Dranova (hisse) (465) Murtad (467) | 13303 | – | 184-88 |
| 2. | Turahan son of korucu Karaca | Topoliça (1415) | 1415 | – | 188-89 |
| 3.* | Emir-ahor Mehmed Çelebi son of Mezid Beğ | Zeyli (5821) | 5821 | – | 194-95 |
| 4. | Mustafa son of İsmail Beğ, kuloğlu | Topolyani (6546) | 6546 | – | 195-96 |
| 5. | Musa, İsmail and Mehmedi sons of İsmail Beğ | Vernar (4735) Korlukava (14288) Krakya (1318) | 20341 | Fishery (1500) 20 mulberry and 20 walnut trees (415) Fishery (150) | 197-202 |
| 6. | Mustafa doğancıbaşı son of Musa Ağa | Lazari Rastani (9275) Hristos (5331) Makrosilko (525) mez. Vodiça | 15131 | – | 202-206 |
| 7. | Musa son of Şahin, gulam-i mir | Ayo Yorgi (hisse) Skafaros (hisse) Kalovertos (hisse) | 5552 | – | 206-207 |
| 8. | Ali son of Osman | İstoya (5697) | 5697 | Fishery and vineyard (80) | 208-209 |
| 9. | Ali, gulam-i mir | Bato (3344) | 3344 | - | 209-10 |
| 10. | Mahmud and Murad sons of Ali Beğ | Goryani (7007) | 7007 | 20 mulberry trees and 20 walnut trees (250) | 210-12 |
| 11. | Ahmed son of Dellak Yusuf | Sokol (5268) Viseni (hisse) (1692) | 6960 | Vineyard (15medre = 180) 10 mulberry and walnut trees (40) | 212-14 |
| 12. | Mehmed son of Murad and grand- son of Miçoklu | Mogleni (928) Radomisla (Zichna) (898) Viseni (hisse) (550) | 2376 | 10 walnut trees (100) 2 mulberry trees (12) 15 unidentified orchards (75) | 215-16 |
| 13. | Zagracı İsmail gulam-i mir | Apudiya (7783) | 7783 | Vineyard (110 medre = 550) | 216-17 |
| 14. | Dede Balı son of Hamza Ağa, emir-i sıkar | Dragomirava (3246) Dravaçışta (hisse) (707) | 3953 | Mill (no revenue) | 218-19 |
| 15.* | Süleyman Beğ çakırçı başı, emir-i sıkar | Nuska (5567) İkseno Çernoglav (2619) Servahor (1189) Cincos (4398) Şirpa (2448) İksira Lutro (3670) | 19891 | | 219-25 |
| 16. | Yakub, assistant of the kazasker | Homondos (6548) Urlyako (9527) | 16075 | | 225-28 |
| 17.* | Karaca gulam-i mir çakırçı | Produsniça (1114) | 1114 | 3 mulberry and 3 walnut trees (40) | 229 |
| 18. | İsa son of Osman | Çernoglav (4585) | 4783 | Vineyard (50) | 230-31 |

| | | | | | |
|------|--|--|--------|--|--------|
| | | Çiftlik by Serres (198) | | | |
| 19. | Solak Zaganos gulam-i mir | Dimitriçe (4432) | 4432 | Vineyard (100 medre = 500) | 231-32 |
| 20. | Barak and Yusuf sons of Musa Bigalı | Veznik (2089) Vayniça (1439) Rahova (456) | 3984 | 22 walnut trees (125) 6 mulberry trees (80) vineyard (5 medre = 50) 7 trees (eşçar) (125) | 232-34 |
| 21. | Solak Şirmerd | Avdomal (hisse) (1665) Rahoviça (hisse) (231) Prilepyani (hisse) (500) | 2396 | | 235 |
| 22. | Nikola and Kostandin | Gradista (506) | 506 | Vineyard (20) | 235-36 |
| 23. | Mahmud son of Seydi Beğ | Dragoş (3365) Turbeş (797) | 4162 | | 242-43 |
| 24. | Umur son of Yusuf | Ezova (10304) | 10304 | 2 mills (300) 6 walnut and almond trees (25) | 243-45 |
| 25. | Solak Yusuf | Kosyani (4769) | 4769 | 36 trees (100) | 245-46 |
| 26. | Ali son of Mehmedi and Barak son of Mehmedi | Kopaç (hisse) (3494) | 3494 | 2 mills (375) 15 trees (50) | 247 |
| 27. | Umur son of Manol | Kopaç (hisse) (5954) | 5954 | Mill (375) 15 pear trees (50) | 248-49 |
| 28. | Mehmedi son of Yusuf | Frastani (hisse) (2133) | 2133 | 10 trees (65) | 249-50 |
| 29. | Timurtaş Beğ and Turali Beğ sons of Sinan Mihali | Pronsik (13862) | 13862 | | 250-52 |
| 30. | Doğan şeri-piyade | Menlikiç (4965) Lakko (hisse) (1954) | 6919 | | 252-54 |
| 31.* | Korucu İsmail kuloğlu | Lakko (hisse) (915) | 915 | | 255 |
| 32. | İliyas son of Hızir gulam-i Ali Paşa | Kravasmun (hisse) (2636) Zuyalo (1387) | 4203 | Vineyard (30 medre = 300) | 256-57 |
| 33. | Hacı Hamza son of Süleyman | Dovišta (2824) | 2824 | 3 mulberry and 8 walnut trees (95) | 258 |
| 34. | Isa son of Musa gulam-i mir | İskokos (5760) | 5760 | | 259-60 |
| 35.* | Doğancı Sinkür son of doğancı Hamza | Prilepyani (hisse) (3021) | 3021 | Half of a mill (400) | 260-61 |
| 36. | Ali son of Mehmed, kuloğlu | Çilugova (4718) | 4718 | | 261-62 |
| 37.* | Kadı of Serres | Keçi Dumba (2342) one village of Nevrokop (2780) | 5122 | | 262-64 |
| 38. | Fustuncı İsmail | Moravinça (3448) | 3448 | Fishery (1000) 2 walnut trees (90) | 265 |
| 39.* | Monks of Prodromos monastery (manastir-i Margarid) | Gorne Trliç (3624) Megalos Lakkos (1350) Monospita (2098) Hrisostomos (542) Braniça (398) | 8012 | | 266-70 |
| 40. | Hamza and Murad son of Kapıcı Behadir, kuloğlu | Stuki (2950) Kruska (Zichna) (546) Mez. Çernoglav (1024) Share from the villages of the following timar (1450) | 5970 | | 271-72 |
| 41. | Hisar erenleri | Korinça (3447) One village of Nevrokop | 8287** | Vineyard (no revenue) 40 trees (125) | 273-76 |

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|-----|--|---|---|-------------------|--------|
| | | (4075) Dravaçışta (hisse) (3068) Mez. Eksilo Pigad (275) Mez. by the village of Midropolid (167) Mez. outside Serres (155) | | | |
| 42. | Mehmed son of Ali gulam-i Saruca Paşa | Topoliça (5217) | 5217 | 20 trees (60) | 277-78 |
| 43. | Mehmed son of Seydi | Nigrita (2071) One village of Demirhisar (1720) | 3791 | Mill (no revenue) | 278-80 |
| 44. | Ali son of Karaca İsa son of Ali Timurtaş son of İliyas | Platniça (4817) Share from the villages of timar n. 41 (1450) | Ali and Timurtaş 3211 İsa 3056 | | 280-82 |
| 45. | Yamak Çavuş | İstarcišta (3892) | 3892 | Vineyard (250) | 282-83 |
| 46. | Mehmedi Çaltusran | Trliç (hisse) (6389) Oksa (hisse) (1245) | 7634 | Samakov (70) | 284-87 |
| 47. | Mehmed son of Deli Manol | İvrendi (hisse) (1134) Dranova (904) Trliç (hisse) (6389) Oksa (hisse) (1245) Two villages of Demirhisar (1553) | 11225 | | 288-91 |
| 48. | Vituz Şirmerd | Negoslav (4618) Avdomal (hisse) (1665) Rahoviça (hisse) (231) Kavaklu (438) | 6952 | 30 trees (100) | 291-95 |

*: *Timars* whose holders had no military obligations.

**: The whole output of that *timar* was 11187 *aspers*, of which its holders retained an amount of 8287, after 1450 *aspers* were given to the holders of *timar* n. 40 and an equal amount to İsa son of Ali of *timar* n. 44.

ii. *Vilayet* of Zichna (1454/55)

| No. | Holder(s) | Village(s) (revenue) | Revenue in <i>aspers</i> | <i>hassa</i> | TTD-3 page |
|-----|--|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. | Hamza and Hızir, former dizdar of Akçahisar, both of them kuloğlu | Rosile (3748) | 3748 | Walnut trees (80) | 435-36 |
| 2. | Bazarlu gulam-i mir | Ramençi (2187) Makori (575) mez. Potoyamo | 2762 | 4 mills (900) walnut trees (100) | 437-38 |
| 3. | Solak Karaca | Klepusna (2627) İvrendi (Serres) (hisse) (2405) Dravaçışta (Serres) (hisse) (175) | 5207 | | 438-41 |
| 4.* | Kadı of Zichna | Rahova (3820) | 3820 | | 442-43 |
| 5. | Yusuf son of Mahmud gulam-i mir | İspancava (3317) | 3317 | | 443-44 |
| 6. | Hasan rikabdar gulam-i mir | Asomata (6422) Kasri (Keşişlik) (4423) | 10845 | Mill (200) Walnut trees (150) | 444-47 |
| 7. | Murad son of Köse | Likovik (6099) | 6199 | | 447-49 |

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|------|---|--|-------|--|--------|
| | Musa, kuloğlu | Çiftlik in Kostimbo (Keşişlik) (100) | | | |
| 8. | Musa son of İnebeği, kuloğlu | Zelihova (hisse) (6326) Tolos (hisse) (4422) | 10748 | Walnut trees (25) Mill (200) | 449-53 |
| 9. | İshak gulam-i mir | Zelihova (6008) | 6008 | | 453-54 |
| 10. | Murad son of Yarlü Şahin, kuloğlu | Draçova (hisse) (2951) İgraçani (hisse) (399) Gornicova (757) | 4107 | | 455-57 |
| 11. | Ali Serkeşli gulam-i mir | Tolos (hisse) (3779) Sarsavani (968) Dranova (hisse) (779) | 5226 | 12 walnut trees (100) 5 mulberry trees (50) vineyard (20) walnut and mulberry trees (50) | 457-59 |
| 12. | Germiyanlı Mahmud and İnebeği kuloğlu | Libahova and mez. Sestak (4824) | 4824 | Vineyard (50 medre=250) 3 mulberry trees (30) 17 walnut trees (80) | 468-69 |
| 13.* | Şahin son of Saruca | Uglyani (2958) Ayo Nikola (526) | 3464 | 2 walnut trees, olive and mulberry trees (30) Walnut trees (240) | 469-71 |
| 14.* | Mustafa Beğ subaşı of Uskudar | Grizova (4185) İgligor/Agrida (hisse) (1140) | 5325 | Vineyard (30) 8 mulberry trees (50) 20 walnut trees (150) | 471-73 |
| 15. | Umur son of Seygeldi, kuloğlu | İgligor/Agrida (hisse) (1175) | 1175 | Mulberry trees (40) | 473-74 |
| 16. | Angelos son of Prapas | Lohtišta (1094) mez. Sestak (hisse) (345) | 1439 | Walnut trees (100) Mulberry trees (50) | 474-75 |
| 17. | Sufi Karaca, gulam- i mir | Anastasia (2881) Kalapod (846) İgligor/Agrida (hisse) (1121) | 4848 | Walnut and mulberry trees (80) Walnut trees (40) | 476-78 |
| 18. | Zaganos Şahinci | İsfolinos (3888) Dragošta (2218) Kasri (1076) Kostirova (467) | 7649 | 30 walnut and 10 mulberry trees (160) 3 walnut and 10 cherry trees (60) | 478-81 |

*: *Timars* whose holders had no military obligations.

iii. *Vilayet* of Keşişlik (1454/55)

| No. | Holder(s) | Village(s) (revenue) | Revenue in <i>aspers</i> | <i>hassa</i> | TTD-3 page |
|-----|--|---|-----------------------------|---|---------------|
| 1. | İsmail gulam-i mir serasker | İver (1343) Hotoliva (hisse) (3095) | 6238 | Ferrying station (400) Fishery (600) Vineyard (40) 3 walnut trees (35) | 339-40 |
| 2. | Asilhan son of Pulad | Çereplyani (11983) Hotoliva (hisse) (975) Kaliyorhor (925) | 13883 | | 341-45 |
| 3. | Turgud son of Hasan Beğ and Yorgi Çelnik | Ancišta (14510) Vulçišta (8458) | 22968 | 2 mills (120) | 345-50 |
| 4. | Murad Beğ | Kocak (3398) | 3398 | | 351 |
| 5. | Ali son of Yusuf Ganim | Canos (16509) | 16509 | Fishery (4000) Mill (400) | 352-54 |
| 6. | Aydin Beğ Germiyanlı | Vitaçišta (3976) Kosromiya (2792) Perişova (Zichna) (777) One village of Drama | 8983 | 7 walnut trees (200) 1 walnut tree (50) | 354-58 |

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|-----|--|---|--------|---|---------|
| | | (285) İvlahışta (1153) | | | |
| 7. | Yigan Beğ | İzdravik (hisse) (24054) Doksobino (13392) | 37446 | Mukata'a of fishery and harbouring charges (5500) | 359-65 |
| 8.* | The deceased Saruca Paşa | İzdravik (hisse) (1511) Keserapoli (718) | 2229 | Fishery (600) | 365-66 |
| 9. | Voyvoda son of Dan | Kostimbo (7118) Humniko (6159) Hudina (1407) mez. Ayo Kiryaki mez. Rumi mez. Balo Kasri | 14684 | Mill (200) Fishery (400) | 367-70 |
| 10. | Çavuş Nebi | Orfan (5996) | 5996 | 1 mulberry tree (5) | 371-72 |
| 11. | Kara Pasmaki, gulam-i mir | Pravišta (7600.5) Drahova (1544) mez. Liziņa (Zichna) (328) | 9472.5 | Mill (100) Vineyard (50 medre=250) Fair (10) Walnut trees (25) | 372-75 |
| 12. | Tura son of İnebeği, çeribaşı gulam-i mir | Pravišta (hisse) (2683) Dravaşıta (Serres) (hisse) (200) | 2883 | | 375-76 |
| 13. | Mehmed Beğ son of Firuz Ağa's brother | Koromišta (7402) Gaydarihor (hisse) (193) Yeşni (1994) Patrik (3193) mez. İstavros (273) Kilisa-i Ayo Nikola (50) İvrana Kasri (2751) Levendo (1330) | 17186 | 15 olive and 12 walnut trees (7 ?) 8 chestnut and 3 walnut trees (330) | 376-83 |
| 14. | Mehmed son of Hacı Matraklı, kuloğlu | Boblani (4524) | 4524 | Mill (137) | 383-85 |
| 15. | Turahan, gulam-i mir | Manolişa (6105) | 6105 | Fishery 200 olive trees (550) vineyard (65) | 385-87 |
| 16. | Mehmedi son of Şahinci Hızır | Zavarnik (5150) Nihori (1980) mez. Ayo Yorgi Church of Ayo Yorgi and Church of Ayo Yani inside Serres | 7130 | 10 trees (100) | 387-89 |
| 17. | Barak son of Gümüşü Buga | Osika (hisse) (6755) | 6755 | | 389-91 |
| 18. | Mehmedi son of Yusuf kuloğlu of Hayreddin Paşa | Keşani (hisse) (3069) | 3069 | 150 chestnut and 20 walnut trees (170) | 391-92 |
| 19. | Hüseyin Ağa Erzincanı | Gaydarihor (hisse) (1463) Kuçi (Serres) (hisse) (920) Drestiniça (3512) Kudelino (Serres) (3168) | 9063 | | 393-96 |
| 20. | Yusuf ulufeci | Pravišta (hisse) (3325) Gaydarihor (hisse) (2205) | 5530 | | 396-98 |
| 21. | Kara Yusuf | Prinar (5745) | 5745 | | 398-99 |
| 22. | Mustafa Osman | Dekališta (5736) Yorgila (7407) Midrapolid (Serres) (3556) Marmara (hisse) (5900) mez. Çengeryano (300) mez. Petra (220) | 23119 | 3 mills (600) 4 walnut trees (25) fishery (4000) fishery (600) mill (150) | 400-404 |
| 23. | Süleyman ulufeci | İldomišta (hisse) (2738) | 3771 | Trees (100) | 404-406 |

| | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|--|---------|---|---------|
| | gulam-i mir | İzdravik (hisse) (337) Zagoriçe (Drama) (696) mez. İgligor | | | |
| 24. | İbrahim son of İliyas | İldomišta (hisse) (1885) İzdravik (hisse) (243) mez. İgligor (hisse) | 2128 | Walnut trees (25) | 406-408 |
| 25. | Umur Beğ son of Hisar Beğ | Radilofo (10758) | 10758 | Walnut and almond trees (320) Fair (700) | 408-11 |
| 26. | Mehmed son of Hazretgerek | Pravišta (hisse) (3317) | 3317 | | 411-12 |
| 27. | Kasim son of Turahan Beğ | Munuho (8642) | 8642 | Walnut trees (50) Fishery (2000) Mill (200) | 412-14 |
| 28. | Kasim son of Behadir | Likovik (hisse) (582) Sotirho (hisse) (1665) Komaryani (5390) | 7637 | Fair (650) | 414-16 |
| 29. | Yusuf son of Asilhan | Sotirho (hisse) (3427) | 3427 | Fishery (250) Fair (1400) | 416 |
| 30. | Sinan son of Hasan | Osika (hisse) (5802.5) Metohi (Serres) (1079) İlşani (6729) | 13610.5 | Vineyard (no revenue) 4 trees (50) | 417-20 |

*: *Timars* whose holders had no military obligations.

iv. Vilayet of Serres (1478/79)

| No. | Holder(s) | Village(s) (revenue) | Revenue in <i>aspers</i> | <i>hassa</i> | TTD-7 page |
|-----|---|--|--------------------------|---|------------|
| 1. | Hasan serasker | Kato İvrendi (36446) Kravasmun (hisse) (4132) Dranova (hisse) (566) Murtad (708) | 41856 | | 246-50 |
| 2. | Hızır | Apudiya (11594) Dragomirava (6322) Dravaçışta (hisse) (1336) | 19252 | | 251-53 |
| 3. | Kadı of Serres | One village of Nevrokob (3683) (Keçi) Tunba (1998) | 5681 | | 255-55 |
| 4. | Kemal Beğ, Mahmud Beğ and İshak Beğ | Karlukova (29091) Vernar (8931) | 38022 | Walnut and mulberry trees (500) Fishery (4000) | 255-60 |
| 5. | Hızır Çelebi and Mehmed Çelebi son of Mezid Beğ | Sarmusaklu (27672) | 27672 | | 260-62 |
| 6. | Yusuf silahdar | İkseno Çernoglav (2656) Servahor (1548) Cincos (8140) Şirpa (2487) mez. Serlandin 4 villages of Selanik (5080) | 19911 | | 262-66 |
| 7. | Ali and Yakub Çobran | Gorne Trliç (6950) Megalos Lakkos (1229) Monospita (2501) Hrisostomos (398) Braniça (505) From the monastery of Margarid: 500 | 12083 | | 266-70 |
| 8. | Mir-ahor | Zeyli (8644) | 8644 | | 270-71 |

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|-----|--|--|-------|---|---------|
| 9. | Mustafa | Kopaç (hisse) (8004) | 8004 | Mill (375) Pear trees (44) | 271-72 |
| 10. | Davud Beğ mir-i miran-i Rumili | Trliç (43265) | 43265 | | 272-75 |
| 11. | İsa Bali and İsmail Beğ | Topolyani (8449) | 8449 | | 275-76 |
| 12. | Ali Beğ son of Karlı | Lazar and meyr. Vodenıç (11377) Hristos and Makrosilko (9877) | 21254 | | 276-78 |
| 13. | Musa son of Ali Beğ | Çernoglav (4140) mez. Gradišta (hisse) (952) Çiftlik outside Serres (300) | 5394 | Vineyard (250) | 278-79 |
| 14. | Süleyman Çobancı | Homondos (10298) | 10298 | | 279-80 |
| 15. | Adesim Çelebi and Kemal Beğ | Nuska (6497) İksira Lutro (2458) | 8955 | | 280-82 |
| 16. | Şamir | Ustoya (4973) | 4973 | Fishery (80) | 282 |
| 17. | Doğancı Sinkür son of doğancı Hamza | Prilepyani (4441) | 4441 | Mill (no revenue) | 283 |
| 18. | Hamid kapıncı | Topoliça (7462) | 7462 | | 284 |
| 19. | Umur son of Behadir | Stuki (2920) Korogonto (1215) mez. Mirmilidišta (1750) mez. Gradišta (1502) | 7387 | | 285-86 |
| 20. | Mahmud, Davud, İsa and Mustafa | Gorinça (5314) Kavaklu (hisse) (3328) One village of Kaloyan (6475) mez. Eksilo Pigad (368) mez. by the village of Midrapolid (110) mez. outside Serres (155) | 15750 | | 286-89 |
| 21. | Yahşi Beğ | Nigrita (2855) One village of Demirhisar (3918) | 6773 | Mill (no revenue) | 290-91 |
| 22. | Resim | Dovišta (hisse) (2571) | 2571 | | 291 |
| 23. | Hamza | Dimitriçe (7654) 3 villages of Nevrokop (1377) | 9031 | Vineyard (200) | 292 |
| 24. | İliyas | Debşani (hisse) (2756) | 2756 | | 293 |
| 25. | Hamza son of Timur | Sokol (7387) | 7387 | Vineyard (150) Mulberry trees (5) Walnut trees (20) | 293-94 |
| 26. | Mehmed son of Ali Beğ | Urlyak (11230) | 11230 | | 294-95 |
| 27. | Mustafa son of İsrati | Kravasmun (hisse) (2560) Zuyalo (1370) | 3930 | Vineyard (300) | 296 |
| 28. | Hüseyin | Menlikiç (7956) Lakko (hisse) (2205) | 10161 | | 297-98 |
| 29. | Yusuf Solak | Frastani (hisse) (3485) | 3485 | Walnut and mulberry trees (270) | 298-99 |
| 30. | Hamza | Frastani (hisse) (2900) mez. Dopalova | 2900 | Mulberry trees (30) Walnut trees (20) | 299-300 |
| 31. | İliyas silahdar | Çuligova (6301) 3 villages of Nevrokop (3546) | 9847 | | 300-302 |
| 32. | Musa son of Şahin | Ayo Yorgi (hisse) (6880) Kopaç (hisse) (1200) | 8080 | | 302-303 |
| 33. | Karagöz İvlah | Prosnak (hisse) (7618) | 7618 | | 303-304 |

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|-----|---|--|-------|--|---------|
| | (3298) and two sipahis of Demirhisar (4320) | | | | |
| 34. | Mehmed son of Yamak Çavuş | İstarcišta (10535) | 10535 | Vineyard (100) | 304-305 |
| 35. | ? | Goryani (6306) | 6306 | Mulberry and walnut trees (220) | 306 |
| 36. | İyas | Topoliça (1747) Prilepyani (hisse) (500) | 2247 | Vineyard (50) | 306-307 |
| 37. | Hacı İbrahim | Negoslav (6786) Avdomal (hisse) (4592) Ramenç (Zichna) (hisse) (816) Kavaklu (hisse) (380) | 12574 | Trees (50) | 307-309 |
| 38. | Labrino | Avdomal (hisse) (2296) Prilepyani (hisse) (500) Ramenç (Zichna) (hisse) (407) | 3203 | | 309 |
| 39. | Mehmed and Hüseyn | İskokos (6149) | 6149 | | 310 |
| 40. | Mahmud son of Sidatri | Paniç (2217) Veznik (1757) Rahova (655) | 4629 | Vineyard (50) Walnut trees (100) Mulberry trees (20) 16 walnut trees (100) 6 mulberry trees (12) | 310-12 |
| 41. | Mehmed son of Yusuf | Oksa (6493) Dranova (862) Konsava (1926) Ayo Dimitri (hisse) (1066) One village of Avrethisar (611) | 10958 | | 312-14 |
| 42. | Yakub | Dragoş (4538) Turbeş (1816) | 6354 | | 314-15 |
| 43. | İsa and Yakub | Verzani (4791) | 4791 | | 315 |
| 44. | İliyas son of Süleyman | Plotniça (hisse) (5332) Share from: Gorinça, Dravaçišta, Negoslav, mez. Eksilo Pigad (875) | 6207 | | 315-16 |
| 45. | Yusuf | Plotniça (hisse) (5243) Share from: Gorinça, Dravaçišta, Negoslav, mez. Eksilo Pigad (875) | 6118 | | 316-17 |
| 46. | Şahini Bazdar, a former çakırçı | Prilepuniça (886) | 886 | | 317 |
| 47. | Ahmed | Lazar (hisse) (1234) Praničko (hisse) (1595) Skaftoz (hisse) (1055) Stuki (hisse) (442) Çuligova (hisse) (230) Prilepyani (hisse) (526) | 5082 | | 318 |
| 48. | Mustafa and Musa | Mogleni (808) Radomisla (Zichna) (hisse) (1597) Vişani (hisse) (550) | 2955 | | 319 |
| 49. | Demur | Bato (3853) | 3853 | | 319-20 |

v. Vilayet of Zichna (1478/79)

| No. | Holder(s) | Village(s) (revenue) | Revenue (in <i>aspers</i>) | <i>Hassa</i> | TTD-7 page |
|-----|---|---|--------------------------------|---|---------------|
| 1. | Mehmed serasker | Servani (1002) Tolos (hisse) (5029) One village of Drama (1130) | 7161 | Walnut, mulberry and pear trees (70) Vineyard (20) | 123-25 |
| 2. | Hamza son of Hoşkadem | Ramenç (hisse) (2341) Makori (630) mez. Bavorto Potamo (40) | 3011 | 2 mills (900) Walnut trees (100) | 125-26 |
| 3. | Hasan son of İliyas Beğ | Klepuşna (3827) İvrendi (Serres) (hisse) (6310) Dravaçışta (Serres) (hisse) (350) | 10487 | | 126-29 |
| 4. | Musa son of Yusuf and İsmail son of Balaban | Rosile (5149) | 5149 | Walnut trees (50) | 129-30 |
| 5. | ? and Mehmed son of İsa | Zelihova (hisse) (7375) Tolos (hisse) (5777) | 13152 | Walnut trees (50) Mill (300) | 131-32 |
| 6. | İsa and Kasim | Zelihova (hisse) (8635) | 8635 | | 133 |
| 7. | Kadı of Zichna | Rahova (5652) | 5652 | | 134-35 |
| 8. | Hamid son of Balaban | İspançava (4801) | 4801 | | 135-36 |
| 9. | Germiyanlı Mahmud | Libahova (6102) Lohtiştı (1921) mez. Sestak (500) | 8523 | Mulberry and walnut trees (100) Mulberry and walnut trees (100) | 136-38 |
| 10. | Barak son of Zaganos | İsfolinos (8469) Dragoştı (3495) Kasri (1400) Kristazava (355) | 13719 | Walnut and mulberry trees | 138-40 |
| 11. | Yusuf gulam-i mir | Grizova (7686) İğlıgor/Agrida (hisse) (2238) | 9924 | Vineyard (30) Walnut trees (105) Mulberry trees (5) Vineyard (30) Mulberry trees (15) | 140-42 |
| 12. | Süleyman | Anastasia (3579) Kalapod (1411) İğlıgor/Agrida (hisse) (1694) | 6684 | Walnut and mulberry trees (50) Walnut trees (40) Mulberry trees (20) | 142-44 |
| 13. | ? and Turgud son of Murad, kuloğlu | Dracova (hisse) (2697) İğraçani (hisse) (527) Gornicova (1350) | 4574 | | 144-45 |
| 14. | Murad son of Köse Musa | Likovik (8440) Nisi (Keşişlik) (3039) Çiftlik in Kostimbo (Keşişlik) (200) | 11679 | Fishery (50) Fair (100) ? (100) | 146-48 |
| 15. | Yusuf son of Şahin | Uglişani (3197) Ayo Nikola (300) Two villages of Bogdanos (3030) | 6527 | Olive and mulberry trees (50) Walnut trees (240) | 148-50 |
| 16. | Mehmed | Asomata (10331) Sotirho (Keşişlik) (5441) Kasri (Keşişlik) (7263) | 23035 | Fishery (700) Fair (1400) | 150-52 |

vi. Vilayet of Keşislik (1478/79)

| No. | Holder(s) | Village(s) (revenue) | Revenue in <i>aspers</i> | <i>Hassa</i> | TTD-7 page |
|-----|---|---|-----------------------------|--|---------------|
| 1. | Murad Küçük | Mitrapolid (Serres) (7052) mez. Çengeryano (1520) mez. Petra (800) | 9372 | Fishery and harbouring charges (600) | 163-64 |
| 2. | Hamza Hacı serasker | İveras (5903) Hotolivo (2966) | 8869 | Vineyard (100) Fishery (600) Ferrying station (400) Walnut trees (40) | 164-65 |
| 3. | Solak Mustafa | Munuho (15293) | 15293 | Fishery (5000) Walnut trees (70) Mill | 166 |
| 4. | İliyas son of Ali | Prinar (7525) | 7525 | Fishery (300) ? (50) Mulberry trees (30) | 167 |
| 5. | Mahmud | Orfan (5087) | 5087 | 1 mulberry tree | 168 |
| 6. | Yusuf yayabaşı | Radilofo (15226) | 15526 | Fair (800) Walnut trees (100) Almond trees (100) | 168-70 |
| 7. | Hasan Mehmed sarabdar | Boblyani (7487) | 7487 | Mill (no revenue) | 170-71 |
| 8. | İsa son of Paşa Yiğit | Nuska (Serres) (hisse) (4510) Kocak (3440) | 7950 | Vineyard (no revenue) | 171-73 |
| 9. | Karaca | İldomišta (hisse) (2219) İzdravik (hisse) (350) Pravišta (hisse) (2969) mez. İgligor (hisse) (200) | 5738 | Walnut trees (25) | 173-75 |
| 10. | Davud | İldomišta (hisse) (4277) İzdravik (hisse) (390) One village of Drama (1461) mez. İgligor (hisse) (92) | 6220 | Walnut trees (no revenue) | 175-77 |
| 11. | İliyas zagracı | Osika (hisse) (9550) | 9550 | | 177-78 |
| 12. | Karagöz gulam-i mir | Manolişa (4021) | 4021 | | 178-79 |
| 13. | İbrahim | Pravišta (hisse) (3436) Dravaçişta (Serres) (hisse) (300) | 3736 | | 179-80 |
| 14. | Mehmed son of Mahmud and Mahmud son of Osman | İzdravik (hisse) (27505) | 27505 | | 180-82 |
| 15. | Hızır son of Turahan | Levendo (400) Gaydarihor (hisse) (435) Mill in mez. İstavros: 15 | 850 | | 182-83 |
| 16. | Hızır son of Mehmed | Çereplyani (13962) | 13962 | | 183-85 |
| 17. | Hamza Sıralı | Gostombo (12978) Humniko (9863) mez. Ayo Yorgi mez. Balo Kasri Hudina (1337) | 24178 | Mill (200) Pear trees (20) Vineyard (50) | 185-88 |
| 18. | Aydin Çenger | İlşani (7282) Metohi (Serres) (2101) | 9383 | Mulberry trees (30) | 188-90 |
| 19. | Ali silahdar | Dreştiniça (4852) Gaydarihor (hisse) (3280) | 13376 | | 190-92 |

| | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|-------|--|---------|
| | | Kuçi (Serres) (521) Kudelino (Serres) (4723) | | | |
| 20. | Tespine Hatun (Mara Branković) | Doksobino (18517) | 18517 | Fishery (7000) | 192-94 |
| 21. | Asilhan son of Pulad | Koromišta (hisse) (9596) | 9596 | Walnut trees (50) | 194-95 |
| 22. | Hamza silahdar | Zavarnik (5738) Nihori (2313) mez. Ayo Yorgi (Serres) (100) mez. Baryakos Church of Ayo Yorgi in Serres (50) Church of Ayo Yanis in Serres: 2 mills (60) and vineyard Izdravik (hisse) (2367) Kesarapoli (1587) Villages of Langada (6713) | 18928 | | 195-99 |
| 23. | Yusuf son of Mahmud | Pravišta (hisse) (11613) Dranova (Zichna) (2271) mez. Lapanko | 13884 | Mill (100) Walnut trees (5) Vineyard | 199-201 |
| 24. | ? | Vulčišta (11889) | 11889 | | 201-203 |
| 25. | ? | Dekališta (8500) | 8500 | | 203-204 |
| 26. | Kabu Paşay | Yorgila (8194) Gaydarihor (hisse) (3301) | 11495 | | 204-205 |
| 27. | Şirmerd Solak | Vitačišta (2598) Kostorombo (3598) Perişova (Zichna) (961) İvlahišta (1595) One village of Drama (405) | 9157 | | 205-208 |
| 28. | Salikas Yusuf and Ali son of Mehmed | Pravišta (hisse) (1860) One village of Kaloyan (3676) | 5536 | | 208-209 |
| 29. | Ahmed | Canos (17839) | 17839 | Fishery (250) Mill (400) | 210 |
| 30. | Mehmed son of Doğan | Marmara (hisse) (5750) | 5750 | | 211 |
| 31. | Ali | Patrik (3757) İvrana Kasri (hisse) (4356) | 8113 | Chestnut and walnut trees (300) | 211-12 |
| 32. | Behadir son of Kasim | Likovik (hisse) (1064) Sotirho (hisse) (2331) Komaryani (5876) | 9271 | Fair (600) | 212-14 |

Table II

Properties and sources of revenue of the main religious foundations of Southeastern Macedonia

Properties and sources of revenue of the diocese of Serres

| in 1454/55 (TTD-3, 183) | In 1478/79 (TTD-7, 246) | In the early 16 th century (Balta, <i>Les vakıfs</i> , 236) |
|--|---|---|
| 1) 3 vineyards; 2) 13 mulberry-trees; 3) 4 vegetable-gardens, revenue: 400 <i>aspers</i> ; 4) 7 pieces of land (<i>tarla</i>) in the village of Drevişani, total surface: 4 <i>dönüm</i> (0.37 hectares); 5) 4 <i>dönüm</i> of land (0.37 hectares) in the village of Goryani, and 3 walnut-trees; 6) 3 vineyards in the village of Drevişani, revenue: 30 <i>aspers</i> ; 7) Church of Duhi: 10 olive- trees, 6 fig-trees, 1 walnut- tree; 8) Church of Ihsratko (Archistratêgos?) : 10 olive- trees, 1 walnut-tree, 1 fig- tree; 9) 3 shops inside Serres, revenue: 140 <i>aspers</i> ; 10) Revenue of 300 <i>aspers</i> from <i>mukata'a</i> inside Serres; Total recorded revenue: 870 <i>aspers</i> | 1) 3 shops inside Serres, revenue: 300 <i>aspers</i> ; 2) 6 vegetable-gardens, revenue: 1700 <i>aspers</i> ; 3) Another vegetable-garden, revenue: 500 <i>aspers</i> ; 4) 13 mulberry-trees, revenue: 150 <i>aspers</i> ; 5) Church of Duhi: 50 olive- trees, revenue: 150 <i>aspers</i> ; 6) Church of Israti: 6 olive- trees, revenue: 200 <i>aspers</i> , 1 walnut-tree, revenue: 5 <i>aspers</i> , 6 fig-trees, revenue: 10 <i>aspers</i> ; 7) In the village of Monospita: 4 walnut-trees, revenue: 20 <i>aspers</i> ; 8) In the village of Lakos: 4 vineyards, revenue: 100 <i>aspers</i> (by hiring them out), 20 walnut-trees, revenue: 100 <i>aspers</i> ; 9) In the village of Drevişani : 15 vineyards, revenue: 100 <i>aspers</i> (by hiring them out); 10) In the village of Prepredova (?) : vineyard, revenue: 600 <i>aspers</i> ; 11) Vineyard in the <i>çifilik</i> of Hamza Bey, revenue: 600 <i>aspers</i> ; 12) 8 pieces of arable land (<i>tarla</i>), revenue: 100 <i>aspers</i> ; 13) Vineyard in the village of Velço, revenue: 800 <i>aspers</i> ; Total revenue: 5435 <i>aspers</i> | 1) 3 shops inside Serres, revenue: 300 <i>aspers</i> ; 2) 6 vegetable-gardens inside Serres, revenue: 1700 <i>aspers</i> ; 3) Another vegetable-garden, revenue: 500 <i>aspers</i> ; 4) 18 mulberry-trees, revenue: 150 <i>aspers</i> ; 5) 7 other mulberry-trees, revenue: 30 <i>aspers</i> ; 6) Church of Israti: 18 mulberry-trees, revenue: 200 <i>aspers</i> ; 7) 4 walnut-trees in the village of Monospita, revenue: 20 <i>aspers</i> ; 8) 4 vineyards, revenue: 100 <i>aspers</i> (by hiring them out); 9) 20 olive-trees in the village of Lakos, revenue: 100 <i>aspers</i> ; 10) 8 pieces of arable land, revenue: 300 <i>aspers</i> ; 11) 25 pieces of vineyard in the village of Drevişani, revenue: 100 <i>aspers</i> (by hiring them out); 12) Vineyard in the village of Borova, fallow; 13) Vineyard in the village of Velço, revenue: 100 <i>aspers</i> ; 14) Vineyard in the <i>çifilik</i> of Hamza Bey, fallow; 15) Church of Duhi : 15 olive- trees, revenue: 150 <i>aspers</i> ; Total revenue: 3750 <i>aspers</i> |

Properties and sources of revenue of the diocese of Zichna

| in 1454/55 (TTD-3, 434) | in 1478/79 (TTD-7, 122) | No records for the early 16 th century |
|---|---|--|
| 1) Vineyard, revenue: 1000 <i>aspers</i> ; 2) 30 olive-trees, revenue: 200 <i>aspers</i> ; | 1) Vineyard, Revenue: 1000 <i>aspers</i> ; 2) 30 olive-trees, revenue: 200 <i>aspers</i> ; | |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| 3) Water-mill, revenue: 225 <i>aspers</i> ; 4) Share from a tax on pottery- production (<i>resm-i kiremidlik</i>) : 140 <i>aspers</i> ; 5) Church of Ayo Dimitri, revenue: 20 <i>aspers</i> ; 6) Church of Aya Marina, revenue: 60 <i>aspers</i> ; 7) Church of Aya Tre, revenue: 10 <i>aspers</i> ; 8) Church of Ayo Kostadin, revenue: 20 <i>aspers</i> ; Total revenue : 1675 <i>aspers</i> | 3) Water-mill, Revenue: 250 <i>aspers</i> ; 4) Share from a tax on pottery- production (<i>resm-i kiremidlik</i>) : 200 <i>aspers</i> ; 5) Church of Ayo Dimitri, Revenue: 30 <i>aspers</i> ; 6) Church of Aya Marina, Revenue: 70 <i>aspers</i> ; 7) Church of Ayo Yorgi; 8) Church of Ayo Kostadin, revenue: 50 <i>aspers</i> ; 9) Church of Lasko, revenue from a locally held fair : 40 <i>aspers</i> ; Total revenue : 1870 <i>aspers</i> | |
|---|--|--|

Properties and sources of revenue of the monastery of St. John Prodromos

(*Manastir-i Margarid*)

| In 1454/55 (TTD-3, 266-70) | In 1478/79 (TTD-7, 270) | In the early 16 th century (Balta, <i>Les Vakıfs</i> , 235) |
|--|---|--|
| 1) <i>Timar</i> consisting of the villages of Gorne Trliç, Megalos Lakos, Monospita, Hrisostomos and Braniça, total tax-paying units: 120 <i>hane</i> , 23 <i>mücerred</i> and 43 <i>bive</i> . Revenue: 8022 <i>aspers</i> ; 2) Water-mill inside Serres, revenue: 1600 <i>aspers</i> ; 3) 3 vegetable-gardens, revenue: 200 <i>aspers</i> ; 4) 6 vineyards in the town of Zichna, yield: 1100 <i>medre</i> of product. 5) Flax-processing refinery (<i>bezirhane</i>), revenue: 300 <i>aspers</i> ; 6) Revenue from saffron- production : 50 <i>aspers</i> ; Total revenue : 1100 <i>medre</i> of wine and 10172 <i>aspers</i> . | 1) Water-mill in Serres, revenue: 1000 <i>aspers</i> ; 2) 3 vegetable-gardens in Serres, revenue: 300 <i>aspers</i> ; 3) 6 vineyards in Zichna, revenue: 1800 <i>aspers</i> ; 4) <i>Bezirhane</i> , out of use. Total revenue : 3100 <i>aspers</i> (less 500 <i>aspers</i> levied by the <i>sipahi</i> of Gorne Trliç), net profit 2600 <i>aspers</i> . | 1) Water-mill in Serres, revenue: 1200 <i>aspers</i> ; 2) 3 vegetable-gardens in Serres, revenue: 460 <i>aspers</i> ; 3) Vineyards in Zichna, 6 <i>dönüm</i> (0.56 hectares), revenue: 1800 <i>aspers</i> ; 4) 5 vineyards in the village of Monospita, revenue: 3750 <i>aspers</i> ; 5) Olive-trees in the vicinity of the monastery (<i>bağçe-i zeytun muttasıl-i manastir-i mezkur</i>), revenue: 1100 <i>aspers</i> ; 6) 325 buffalo; 7) 800 milk-cows; Total revenue: 8310 <i>aspers</i> (less 500 <i>aspers</i> levied by the <i>sipahi</i> of Gorne Trliç), net profit 7810 <i>aspers</i> . |

Table III

Population estimates of several Balkan cities and towns in the 15th century

| <u>City</u> | <u>Christians</u> | <u>Muslims</u> | <u>Jews</u> | <u>Others</u> | <u>Total</u> |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Serres (1478/79) | 1716 | 3454 | | | 5170 |
| | | | | | |
| Istanbul (1477) | 15755 | 44755 | 8235 | 5270 | 88818 |
| Galata (1477) | 3108 | 2942 | | 2068 | 8118 |
| Thessalonica (1478/79) | 6196 | 4975 | | | 11171 |
| Skopje (c. 1455-60) | 1780 | 3031 | | | 4811 |
| Bitola (1469) | 971 | 1623 | | | 2594 |
| Veleš (1460) | 1202 | 49 | | | 1251 |
| Kastoria (1477) | 4935 | 121 | | | 5056 |
| Tirnovο (mid 15 th c.) | 2155 | 726 | | | 2881 |
| Nikopol (mid 15 th c.) | 4225 | 1694 | | | 5919 |
| Trikala (1454/55) | 1343 | 1410 | | | 2753 |
| Larissa (1454/55) | 400 | 1992 | | | 2392 |
| Phanarion (1454/55) | 1988 | 831 | | | 2819 |
| Chalkis (c. 1470) | 2500 | | | | 2500 |
| Thebes (1466) | 3116 | | | | 3116 |
| Corinth (c. 1461) | 2065 | | | | 2065 |

Note: The entry of “others” includes West Europeans, Armenians, Karamanlı Greeks and Armenians (Turkish speakers), Kaffans and Gypsies. In the case of Istanbul, where the published data consist of *hane* figures only, the estimated number of each different group is obtained by multiplying the number of *hane* by five. Then all separate estimates are added and the final outcome (74015) is subjected to an increase by 20 % to give the final figure of 88818. In all other towns, the separate group estimates are subjected to an increase by 10 % for the Muslims and 5 % for the others before the final addition.

For Istanbul and Galata: cf. Inalcik, *Istanbul: EI²*, IV, 238. For Thessalonica: cf. Lowry, *Selânik*: in Lowry, *Defterology*, 68-69, 88. For the towns of western Macedonia: cf. Todorov, *Balkan City*, 64. For the Bulgarian towns: cf. *Turski Izvori*

II, 160-61, 164-65. For the towns of Thessaly: cf. Beldiceanu-Nasturel, *La Thessalie: Byzantion*, 53 (1983), 121-23. For Thebes: cf. Balta, "Rural and Urban Population in the Sancak of Euripos in the early 16th century": in Balta, *Problèmes et approches*, 48. For Chalkis: cf. G. Rizzardo, *La Pressa dei Negroponte fatta dei Turchi ai Veneziani nel MCCCCLXX*, ed. E.A. Cicogna, Venice 1884, 24 f. Cited in P. Topping, "Latins on Lemnos before and after 1453": in Bryer-Lowry, *Continuity and Change*, 234. For Corinth: cf. Beldiceanu and Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Morée: SOF*, 39 (1980), 41.

Table IVa

Towns of Southern Macedonia according to the records of TTD-70 (1519)

| Town | Christians | | | Muslims | | Jews | | Revenue | page |
|---------------|------------|-----|-----|---------|-----|------|-----|---------|------|
| | H | M | B | H | M | H | M | | |
| Drama | 153 | 33 | 56 | 116 | 74 | | | 51374 | 15 |
| Kavala | 61 | 2 | 10 | 22 | | | | 4736 | 3 |
| Zihne | 419 | 73 | 141 | 46 | 21 | | | 56928 | 53 |
| Siroz | 545 | 45 | 108 | 684 | 303 | 54 | 59 | 100397 | 5 |
| Demirhisar | 205 | 27 | 33 | 122 | 33 | | | 27625 | 13 |
| Nevrekob | 319 | 26 | 69 | 167 | 67 | | | 51509 | 65 |
| Sidrekapsı | 305 | 31 | 37 | 62 | 12 | | | ? | 8 |
| Selânik | 1087 | 55 | 300 | 1374 | 282 | 3143 | 930 | 3506762 | 6 |
| Avrathisar | 31 | 6 | 8 | 13 | 3 | | | 12061 | 9 |
| Yeniçe-Vardar | 25 | | | 793 | 284 | 24 | | 49822 | 145 |
| Karaferiye | 578 | 138 | 246 | 231 | 53 | | | 96606 | 171 |
| Serfiçe | 646 | 107 | 126 | 49 | 36 | | | 83713 | 187 |
| Kesriye | 732 | 144 | 164 | 67 | 41 | | | 73888 | 197 |
| Hurpiste | 73 | 5 | 7 | 66 | 11 | | | 16509 | 215 |
| Bihliste | 94 | 6 | 8 | 10 | 5 | | | 10030 | 245 |

Note: H: *hane* M: *mücerred* B: *bive*. The amounts of fiscal revenue are given in *asper*. These records are also reproduced in Tayyib M. Gökbilgin, “Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Devri Başlarında Rumeli Eyaleti, Livaları, Şehir ve Kasabaları”, *Belleten*, 20 (1956), 247-94, and Stojanoski, *Gradovite*, 62-69. In some cases, Gökbilgin does not provide the numbers of *mücerred* and *bive*.

Table IVb

Population estimates of the towns recorded in TTD-70 (1519)

| Town | Christians | Muslims | Jews | Total |
|---------------|------------|---------|-------|-------|
| Drama | 1014 | 719 | | 1733 |
| Kavala | 354 | 110 | | 464 |
| Zihne | 2721 | 276 | | 2997 |
| Siroz | 3249 | 4095 | 345 | 7689 |
| Demirhisar | 1209 | 707 | | 1916 |
| Nevrekob | 1919 | 992 | | 2911 |
| Sidrekapsı | 1750 | 354 | | 2104 |
| Selânik | 6710 | 7867 | 17477 | 32054 |
| Avrathisar | 192 | 75 | | 267 |
| Yeniçe-Vardar | 131 | 4674 | 126 | 4931 |
| Karaferiye | 3955 | 1329 | | 5284 |
| Serfiçe | 3901 | 309 | | 4210 |
| Kesturiye | 4511 | 414 | | 4925 |
| Hurpiste | 411 | 375 | | 786 |
| Bihliste | 525 | 61 | | 586 |

Table V**The quarters of Serres as they appear in TTD-7 (1478/79)****i. Muslim quarters**

| <i>Mahalle name</i> | <i>Hane</i> | <i>mücerred</i> | <i>bive</i> | <i>Defter pages</i> |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------------|
| 1. Cami | 16 | | | 220 |
| 2. Evrenos Beğ | 15 | | | 220 |
| 3. Darbhane | 23 | | | 220 |
| (Cemaat-i darbhane ustadları) | 14 | | | 221 |
| (Cemaat-i darbhane işçileri) | 20 | | | 221 |
| 4. Haraççı | 17 | | 2 | 221 |
| 5. Debbağlar | 19 | | 3 | 221-22 |
| 6. Mescid-i Kara Hamza | 14 | | 2 | 222 |
| 7. Eslime Hatun | 28 | 2 | 2 | 223 |
| 8. Debbağ Murad | 18 | 2 | 2 | 222-223 |
| 9. Hakim Davud | 35 | 9 | 6 | 223 |
| 10. Mescid –i Koyun Yusuf | 37 | | 7 | 223-24 |
| 11. Hacı Kurd | 22 | 2 | 3 | 224 |
| 12. Salih Fakih | 31 | 5 | 6 | 224-25 |
| 13. Bedreddin Beğ | 20 | | | 225 |
| 14. Süleyman Beğ | 39 | | 5 | 225 |
| 15. Çasnigir | 18 | | 7 | 226 |
| 16. Ismail Beğ | 15 | | 2 | 226 |
| 17. Burhan Beğ | 14 | | 2 | 226 |
| 18. Mescid-i Ayse Hatun ve Doğan Beğ | 9 | | 3 | 226 |
| 19. Doğan Beğ | 18 | | 2 | 227 |
| 20. Koca Hatib | 33 | | 2 | 227 |
| 21. Tatar Hatun | 35 | | 3 | 227-28 |
| 22. Hacı Ali | 17 | | 7 | 228 |
| 23. Hayreddin Bacdar | 24 | | 2 | 228 |

| | | | | |
|--------------|----|--|---|--------|
| 24. Kamenîça | 22 | | | 228-29 |
| 25. Kule | 10 | | 1 | 229 |

ii. Christian quarters

| <i>Mahalle name</i> | <i>hane</i> | <i>mücerred</i> | <i>bive</i> | <i>Defter page</i> |
|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------------|
| 1. Sarrafân | 5 | | 2 | 229 |
| 2. Şemmayân | 2 | | 1 | 229 |
| 3. Hovaçık | 9 | | 2 | 229-30 |
| 4. Metaksopoli | 11 | 3 | 1 | 230 |
| 5. Kir Dimitri | 3 | | 1 | 230 |
| 6. Kürkçüyân | 8 | | | 230 |
| 7. Haddadân | 4 | | | 230 |
| 8. Yağcıyân | 4 | | 1 | 230 |
| 9. Bakkalân | 6 | | | 230 |
| 10. Ayvat | 3 | | 1 | 231 |
| 11. Hayyatân | 10 | | | 231 |
| 12. Çulahân | 3 | | | 231 |
| 13. Semerciyân | 6 | | 1 | 231 |
| 14. Çangar | 9 | | 2 | 231 |
| 15. Sabuncuyân | 5 | | 1 | 231 |
| 16. Zergerân | 2 | | 1 | 231 |
| 17. Papaslar | 7 | | | 232 |
| 18. Aslıhan Paşa | 13 | | | 232 |
| 19. Kasim Çelebi | 16 | | 4 | 232 |
| 20. Selâniklu Hasan | 5 | | 1 | 232 |
| 21. Mahi-i Gebran | 7 | | 1 | 232 |
| 22. Urgancıyân | 6 | | | 233 |
| 23. Kassabân | 14 | | 2 | 233 |
| 24. Hacı İbrahim | 11 | | 10 | 233 |
| 25. Fuzlullah | 16 | | 1 | 233 |

| | | | | |
|------------------------|----|--|---|-----|
| 26. Papuççular | 2 | | 2 | 234 |
| 27. Ayo Vasil | 2 | | 4 | 234 |
| 28. Burnos | 4 | | 2 | 234 |
| 29. Bostancılar | 4 | | 1 | 234 |
| 30. Hacı Mehmed | 4 | | | 234 |
| 31. Koca Kadı | 14 | | 1 | 234 |
| 32. Kadı-i İzmir | 1 | | 1 | 234 |
| 33. Papasân-i diğer | 8 | | 4 | 235 |
| 34. Çölmekçiyân | 4 | | 3 | 235 |
| 35. Değirmenciyân | 7 | | | 235 |
| 36. Ayo Nikola | 4 | | 1 | 235 |
| 37. Mehmed Şah al Kadı | 13 | | | 235 |
| 38. Kerbanân (Karvana) | 2 | | 1 | 235 |
| 39. Ayo Dimitri | 4 | | 1 | 236 |
| 40. Nalband | 4 | | 1 | 236 |
| 41. Şahim Efendi | 6 | | 1 | 236 |
| 42. Ahmed | 1 | | | 236 |
| 43. Yazıcı İbrahim | 6 | | | 236 |
| 44. Hamza Bali | 4 | | 4 | 236 |
| 45. Liokali | 1 | | | 236 |
| 46. Anandyoti | | | 2 | 236 |
| 47. İsmail Beğ | 4 | | 2 | 237 |

Note: A similar list is given in Balta, *Les vakıfs*, 257-60.

Table VI

Revenue generated in Serres in 1454/55 and 1478/79

i. 1454/55

| Source | Amount (in <i>aspers</i>) | Recipient |
|--|-------------------------------|---|
| Tax on commercial transactions (part) | 15000 (20.27 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| <i>Niyabet</i> | 17400 (23.51 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| <i>Monopoliye</i> | 12300 (16.62 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| Charge on horse pasturage | 2000 (2.70 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| Orchards (<i>hasa</i>) | 75 (0.10 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| Impose on cereals (in kind) and gardens | 415 (0.56 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| <i>İспенçe</i> | 13628 (18.41 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| <i>Cizye</i> (part) | 7200 (9.73 %) | Grand Mosque |
| Vineyards, orchards, shop leases | 870 (1.17 %) | Diocese |
| Mill | 1600 (2.16 %) | Prodromos monastery |
| Three vegetable gardens | 200 (0.27 %) | Prodromos monastery |
| Linseed press (<i>bezirhane</i>) | 300 (0.40 %) | Prodromos monastery |
| Charge on vineyards of <i>kepezciyân</i> | 3000 (4.05 %) | <i>Mülk</i> -owner in <i>nahiye</i> of Kaladendra |
| Total | 73988 | |

ii. 1478/79

| Source | Amount (in <i>aspers</i>) | Recipient |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Tax on commercial transactions (part) | 60000 (39.90 %) | Sultan |
| Tax on commercial transactions (part), <i>niyabet</i> , impose on olive-trees, <i>bozahane</i> | 32000 (21.28 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| <i>Monopoliye</i> | 17000 (11.30 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| Charge on horse pasturage | 5500 (3.65 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| Impose on vineyards | 2200 (1.46 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| Impose on mulberries | 200 (0.13 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| Toll on herds (<i>resm-i ağıl</i>) | 100 (0.06 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |
| Tax on land-leases | 240 (0.15 %) | <i>Has</i> -grantee |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Impose on six privately owned mills | 740 (0.49 %) | <i>Has-grantee</i> |
| Impose on gardens | 50 (0.03 %) | <i>Has-grantee</i> |
| Impose on cereal production (in kind) | 1800 (1.19 %) | <i>Has-grantee</i> |
| <i>İспенçe</i> | 7209 (4.79 %) | <i>Has-grantee</i> |
| Shop leases | 300 (0.19 %) | Diocese |
| Gardens | 2200 (1.46 %) | Diocese |
| Orchards | 515 (0.34 %) | Diocese |
| Vineyards | 1200 (0.79 %) | Diocese |
| Mill | 1000 (0.66 %) | Prodromos monastery |
| Gardens | 300 (0.19 %) | Prodromos monastery |
| Five shops | 6300 (4.18 %) | <i>İmaret</i> of Evrenos |
| Vineyard | 300 (0.19 %) | <i>İmaret</i> of Evrenos |
| <i>Başhane</i> | 2880 (1.91 %) | Grand Mosque |
| Five shops | 720 (0.47 %) | Grand Mosque |
| <i>Cizye</i> (part) | 7200 (4.78 %) | Grand Mosque |
| 12 shops | 420 (0.27 %) | Mosque of Ismail Beğ |
| Total | 150374 | |

Table VII
Occupations of Serreans in 1454/55 and 1478/79

| Occupation | | 1454/55 | | | 1478/79 | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------|-----|-------|---------|-----|-------|
| | | Mus | Chr | total | Mus | Chr | total |
| ahenger | blacksmith | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| arabacı | carter | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| aşçı | cook, chef | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| attar | perfumer | | | | 2 | | 2 |
| bacdar | market-tax collector | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | 2 |
| bakkal | grocer | 5 | | 5 | 8 | 6 | 14 |
| başmakçı | shoe/slipper maker | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | 2 |
| bazirgan | merchant | 2 | | 2 | | | |
| bıçakçı | knife maker/seller | 2 | | 2 | 3 | | 3 |
| bostancı | gardener | | | | | 4 | 4 |
| boyacı | dyer | 2 | | 2 | 3 | | 3 |
| bozacı | seller of <i>boza</i> drink | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| börekçi | pastry maker/seller | 4 | | 4 | 7 | | 7 |
| buzcu | ice seller | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| culah | weaver | 12 | 5 | 17 | 9 | 3 | 12 |
| çenger | cobbler | | 2 | 2 | | 9 | 9 |
| çerçi | peddler | 2 | | 2 | 3 | | 3 |
| çıkırıkçı | lathe operator | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| çırakçı | dealer in candlesticks | | | | 2 | | 2 |
| çilingir | locksmith | 1 | | 1 | 3 | | 3 |
| çizmeci | boot maker/seller | | | | 16 | | 16 |
| çopan | shepherd | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| çölmekçi | potter | | | | | 4 | 4 |
| çörekçi | maker/seller of cakes | | | | 2 | | 2 |
| darbhane işçileri | workers in the mint | | | | 20 | | 20 |
| darbhane üstadları | supervisors in the mint | | | | 14 | | 14 |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|----|---|----|----|----|----|
| daulcu | <i>daul</i> player | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| debbağ | tanner | 11 | | 11 | 15 | | 15 |
| değirmenci | miller | | | | | 7 | 7 |
| dellak | bath attendant, masseur | 5 | | 5 | 1 | | 1 |
| dellal | town crier | 4 | | 4 | 7 | | 7 |
| derzi | tailor | | | | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| dukkândar | shopkeeper | 3 | | 3 | 5 | | 5 |
| durudger (dulger) | carpenter | 3 | | 3 | 3 | | 3 |
| eskici | junkman | 2 | | 2 | 1 | | 1 |
| etmekçi | baker | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | | 2 |
| habbaz | baker | | | | 2 | | 2 |
| haddad | blacksmith | | | | | 4 | 4 |
| hallaç | cotton-fluffer | 8 | | 8 | 7 | | 7 |
| hamal | carrier | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| hamamcı | bath attendant | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | 2 |
| hayyat | tailor | 28 | | 28 | 22 | 10 | 32 |
| helvali | maker/seller of <i>helva</i> | 3 | | 3 | 1 | | 1 |
| hidmetgâr amili | manager (of servants) | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| hosabcı | fruit-juice seller | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| iklikçi | player of <i>iklik</i> | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| imam | prayer leader | 16 | | | 21 | | |
| ipekçi (metaksopolis) | dealer in silk | 3 | | 3 | 2 | 14 | 16 |
| istarıcı | curtain maker/seller | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| işkaf | artisan (esp. carpenter) | 6 | | 6 | | | |
| iyici | seller of spindles | 2 | | 2 | | | |
| kabacı | cloak maker/seller | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| kaftancı | <i>kaftan</i> maker/seller | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| kalaycı | tinsmith | 1 | | 1 | 2 | | 2 |
| kalkancı | maker/seller of shields | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| kamhacı | dealer in velvet | 1 | | 1 | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|--|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| karvana | inn keeper | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | 2 |
| kassab | butcher | | | | | 14 | 14 |
| katib | scribe | | | | 3 | | 3 |
| kavaf | cheap shoe maker | 3 | | 3 | | | |
| kazancı | kettle maker/seller | 4 | | 4 | | | |
| kazzaz | silk manufacturer | 4 | | 4 | 2 | | 2 |
| keçacı | carpet – map maker | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| keşşger | shoemaker | 4 | | 4 | 4 | | 4 |
| kepek-pez | bran cook | 3 | | 3 | 8 | | 8 |
| kepezci | veil maker/seller | 8 | 26 | 34 | | | |
| kethuda | steward | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| kettanı | dealer in linen | 1 | | 1 | 4 | | 4 |
| kıncı | Maker of seeth | 2 | | 2 | 4 | | 4 |
| kısaççı | seller of pincers | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| kireççi | lime burner | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| kuşakçı | belt maker/seller | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| kuyumcu | jeweller | 2 | | 2 | | | |
| külâh-duz | hat, cap maker/seller | 11 | | 11 | | | |
| kürkçü | furs maker/seller | 1 | | 1 | | 8 | 8 |
| lökmacı | <i>lökma</i> -desert maker | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| mehter | chamberlain (used for the night-watchmen) | | | | 3 | | 3 |
| mikremci | handkerchief maker | | | | 3 | | 3 |
| muytab (mutaf) | maker of woollens | 8 | | 8 | 5 | | 5 |
| müezzin | prayer caller | 14 | | | 3 | | |
| müze-duz | boot maker/seller | 3 | | 3 | 1 | | 1 |
| nalband | blacksmith | 6 | | 6 | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| nemetger | blanket maker/seller | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| oda-başı | inn keeper | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| papuççu | Shoe, slipper maker | 17 | 2 | 19 | 12 | 2 | 14 |
| palan-duz | maker of pack-saddles | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|----|----|----|----|---|----|
| paluzeci | pudding maker | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| papas | priest | | 36 | | | 5 | |
| sabunu | soap seller | 5 | | 5 | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| saka | water carrier | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| samsacı | maker of <i>samsa</i> | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| sarraç | leather manufacturer | 11 | | 11 | 9 | | 9 |
| sarraf | money changer | | | | | 5 | 5 |
| sekkakı | coiner | 2 | | 2 | | | |
| semerci | saddler | | | | | 7 | 7 |
| sırçacı | glass, crystal seller | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | 1 |
| skembeci | <i>skembe</i> cook | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| somuncu | weigher, seller of weights | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| surnazen | player of <i>zurna</i> | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| şemma | candle maker/seller | | | | | 2 | 2 |
| şerbetçi | seller of <i>şerbet</i> -drink | 2 | | 2 | 2 | | 2 |
| şimşirger | sword maker/seller | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| tacir | merchant | 3 | | 3 | | | |
| takyeci (takya-duz) | scalp-cap maker/seller | 1 | | 1 | 18 | | 18 |
| tevaşçı | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| tirgir | arrow maker/seller | 2 | | 2 | | | |
| tuzcu | salt seller | 2 | | 2 | 2 | | 2 |
| urgancı | rope maker/seller | | | | | 6 | 6 |
| uskufcu | cap maker/seller | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| yağcı | dealer in oil | 1 | | 1 | | 4 | 4 |
| yazıcı | scribe | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| yuvacı | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| zerger | goldsmith | | | | | 2 | 2 |

Table VIII
Sources of revenue and recipients in 15th-century Zichna

i. 1454/55

| Source of revenue | Amount (in <i>aspers</i>) | Recipient | Percentage out of recipient's total | TTD-3 page |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Niyabet | 5000 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 15.10 % | 422 |
| Cereal production | 12512 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 37.80 % | 431 |
| Legumes | 660 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 1.99 % | 431 |
| Flax, cotton, saffron | 518 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 1.56 % | 431 |
| Vegetable gardens | 218 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 0.65 % | 431 |
| Orchard gardens | 267 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 0.80 % | 431 |
| Beehives | 220 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 0.66 % | 431 |
| Pottery | 80 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 0.24 % | 431 |
| Vineyards | 2000 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 6.04 % | 431 |
| Swine | 204 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 0.61 % | 432 |
| İспенçe | 11423 | <i>Has-grantee</i> | 34.51 % | 432 |
| | 33092 | <i>Has-grantee total</i> | | |
| Vineyards | 1000 | Diocese | 59.70 % | 434 |
| 30 olive-trees | 200 | Diocese | 11.94 % | 434 |
| Water-mill | 225 | Diocese | 13.43 % | 434 |
| Pottery | 140 | Diocese | 8.35 % | 434 |
| Levy on parishes | 110 | Diocese | 6.56 % | 434 |
| | 1675 | Diocese total | | |
| Six vineyards | 1100 <i>medre</i> | St. John monastery | | 270 |

ii.1478/79

| Source of revenue | Amount (in <i>aspers</i>) | Recipient | Percentage out of recipient's total | TTD-7 page |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Niyabet, arus, bac | 6500 | Has-grantee | 9.42 % | 121 |
| Cereal production | 17940 | Has-grantee | 26.01 % | 121 |
| Legumes | 865 | Has-grantee | 1.25 % | 121 |
| Cotton, flax, saffron | 1890 | Has-grantee | 2.74 % | 121 |
| Vegetable gardens | 300 | Has-grantee | 0.43 % | 121 |
| Orchard gardens | 743 | Has-grantee | 1.07 % | 121 |
| Swine | 400 | Has-grantee | 0.58 % | 121 |
| Muslim owned vines | 1750 | Has-grantee | 2.53 % | 121 |
| Christian owned vines | 22000 | Has-grantee | 31.90 % | 121 |
| 7 water-mills | 330 | Has-grantee | 0.47 % | 121 |
| Monopoliye | 3000 | Has-grantee | 4.35 % | 121 |
| İспенçe | 10506 | Has-grantee | 15.23 % | 121 |
| Other revenues | 2740 | Has-grantee | 3.97 % | 121 |
| | 68964 | Has-grantee total | | |
| Vineyards | 1000 | Diocese | 53.47 % | 122 |
| 30 olive trees | 200 | Diocese | 10.69 % | 122 |
| Water-mill | 250 | Diocese | 13.36 % | 122 |
| Pottery | 200 | Diocese | 10.69 % | 122 |
| Levy on parishes | 220 | Diocese | 11.76 % | 122 |
| | 1870 | Diocese total | | |
| Six vineyards | 1500 | St. John monastery | | 270 |

Table IXa

Villages of South-eastern Macedonia in the 14th and 15th centuries

i. Vilayet of Serres

| Village: ottoman name | Byzantine name | TTD-3 Page | TTD-7 Page | 14 th -c. reference | Modern name |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Apudiya | Apidea | 216-17 | 251-52 | Act. Chil., n. 41.59 | Achladies |
| 2. Avdomal | | 235, 293 | 308, 309 | | Sêsamia |
| 3. Ayanargir | Keranitza | 178-79 | 240-41 | Arc.St.Jean, n. 11.7 | Ag. Anargyroi |
| 4. Ayo Dimitri | Hagios Demetrios | ? | 314 | Cod. B, n. 146 | |
| 5. Ayo Yorgi / Skafaros / Kolovertos | Hagios Georgios | 206-207 | 68-69 | Cod. B, n. 122 | |
| 6. Bato | | 209-10 | 319-20 | | |
| 7. Branduli | | ? | 20 | | |
| 8. Braniça | | 270 | 269 | | |
| 9. Brezničko | | 174, 296 | 239-40 | | |
| 10. Cincos | Tzintzos | 222-23 | 263-64 | Act. Esph., n. 29.4 | Sitochori |
| 11. Çeltukçi | | 182 | ? | | |
| 12. Çernoglav | | 230 | 278-79 | | |
| 13. Çuligova | | 261-62, 297 | 300-301, 318 | | Anagennêsê |
| 14. Depşani | | ? | 293 | | |
| 15. Dimitriçi | | 231-32 | 292 | | Dêmêtritsi |
| 16. Dovišta | | 258 | 291 | | Emm. Pappas |
| 17. Dragomirava | | 218 | 252 | | |
| 18. Dragoş | | 242 | 314 | | Zeugolateio |
| 19. Dranova | Dreanobon | 187, 289-90 | 250, 313 | Act. Zogr., n. 23.20 | |
| 20. Dravaçista | | 175, 219, 376, 441 | 129, 180, 240, 253 | | |
| 21. Dravaçista (Kavaklu) | | 275-76, 294 | 287, 309 | | Leukôn |
| 22. Dreveşani | | 176, 178 | 238-39 | | Oinousa |
| 23. Dunba | Toumpa | 236-38 | 341-43 | Arc.St.Jean, n. 45.5 | Toumpa |
| 24. Ezova | Eziba | 243-45 | 349-50 | Act. Esph., n. 16.76 | Daphnê |
| 25. Frastani | | 249-50 | 298-300 | | Oreinê |
| 26. Gorne Trliç | (vicinity of Trilission) | 266-67 | 266-67 | | |
| 27. Goryani | Gorianê | 210-12 | 306 | Cod. B, ns. 39, 180 | Gorianê |
| 28. Gradista (mezraa) | Gradistos | 235-36 | 279, 285-86 | Act.Chil., n. 143.11 | |
| 29. Homondos | | 225-26 | 279-80 | | Mêtrousês |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| 30. Hrisostomos | <i>Metochi</i> of Prodromos | 269 | 269 | Arc.St.Jean, n.35.52 | |
| 31. Hristos | Gastilegkous | 204-205 | 277-78 | Arc.St.Jean, n.33.45 | Christos |
| 32. Ikseno Çernoglav | | 221-22 | 262-63 | | |
| 33. Iksimile | Examyliia | 208 | 351 | Cod. B, n. 43 | |
| 34. Iksira Lutro | | 224-25 | 281-82 | | Xero Loutro |
| 35. Ilise | | 181-82 | 244-45 | | Ochyro |
| 36. Iskokos | Skokos | 259-60 | 310 | Cod. B, n. 58 | |
| 37. Istarcista | | 282-83 | 304-305 | | Peritheorion |
| 38. Istoya | | 208-209 | 282 | | |
| 39. Ivrendi | Brontou | 288, 440-41 | 127-28 | Act. Lavr. III, n. 128.33 | Anô Brontou |
| 40. Kalbastiça | | 179-81 | 243-44 | | |
| 41. Kamenik | | ? | 241 | | |
| 42. Kato Ivrendi | (vicinity of Brontou) | 184-86 | 246-49 | Act. Lavr. III, n. 128.33 | Katô Brontou |
| 43. Keçi Dumba | | 262-63 | 254-55 | | Neo Souli |
| 44. Koçani | | ? | 292 | | |
| 45. Kopaç | | 247-49 | 271-72, 303 | | Bergê |
| 46. Korinça | | 273-74 | ? | | |
| 47. Korlukava | | 198-201 | | | Mikropolis |
| 48. Korogonto | | ? | 285 | | |
| 49. Kosyani | | 245-46 | ? | | |
| 50. Konsava | | ? | 313 | | |
| 51. Krakya | | 202 | ? | | |
| 52. Kravasmun | Krabasmountos | 187, 256 | 249, 296 | Arc.St.Jean, n. 9.17 | |
| 53. Kuça | | 393-94 | 191 | | |
| 54. Kudelino | | 395-96 | 192 | | |
| 55. Lako | Lakkos | 254, 255 | 298 | | |
| 56. Lakos / Makeşi | | 240-41 | 345-46 | | |
| 57. Lazari Rastani (Lazar) | | 202-204, 296 | 276-77, 318 | | Anô Oreinë (?) |
| 58. Lepsani | | ? | 188-89 | | |
| 59. Likva | | ? | 86 | | |
| 60. Makrosilko | | 205 | 278 | | |
| 61. Marmori | | ? | 19-20 | | Kapetanoudi |
| 62. Megalos Lakos | (vicinity of Lakkos) | 267-68 | 268 | Arc.St.Jean, n.39.64 | |

| | | | | | |
|------------------|----------------|----------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 63. Menlikîç | Melenikitzion | 252-54 | 297 | Cod. B, n. 38 | Melenikitsi |
| 64. Meryani | | 238-40 | 344-45 | | Merianê |
| 65. Metafitos | | 297 | ? | | |
| 66. Metohi | | 418-19 | 189 | | |
| 67. Midrapolid | Mêtropolitou | 402-403 | 163 | Act. Kutl., n. 38.4 | |
| 68. Mnstor (?) | | ? | 239 | | |
| 69. Moglani | | 215 | 319 | | Mouchlianê |
| 70. Monospita | Monospiton | 268-69 | 268-69 | Arc.St.Jean, n. 7.18 | |
| 71. Moravinça | Marabintzê | 265 | 348-49 | Act. Chil., n. 38.10 | Antigoneia |
| 72. Murtad | | 188 | 250 | | Xerotopos |
| 73. Nehtayor (?) | | ? | 21-22 | | |
| 74. Negoslav | | 291-92 | 307-308 | | Nikokleia |
| 75. Nigrita | | 279-80 | 290-91 | | Nigrita |
| 76. Notişani | | 176-78 | 238 | | |
| 77. Nuska | Ouska (Kato) | 219-21 | 280-81 | Arc.St.Jean, n. 6.4 | Daphnoudi |
| 78. Oksa | Oxea | 286-87 | 312-13 | Cod. B, n. 137 | |
| 79. Paniç | | ? | 310-11 | | |
| 80. Petriçko | | 174-75 | 240 | | |
| 81. Platniça | Platênê | 280-81 | 315-17 | Act. Chil., n.146.63 | Leukogeia |
| 82. Praniçko | | ? | 318 | | |
| 83. Prilepyani | | 260-61 | 283, 309, 318 | | |
| 84. Prilepuniça | | ? | 317 | | |
| 85. Produşniça | | 229 | ? | | |
| 86. Prosnik | Prosanikon | 250-52 | 303-304, 504, 505 | Cod. B, n. 35 | Skotoussa |
| 87. Rahova | Rachoba | 234 | 311-12 | Cod. B, n. 206 | |
| 88. Rahoviça | Rachobtsos | 235, 294 | ? | Cod. B, n. 180 | Marmaras |
| 89. Ramunç | | ? | 309 | | |
| 90. Rizinava | | ? | 241-42 | | |
| 91. Sarmusaklu | | 189-93 | 260-62 | | Pentapolis |
| 92. Servahor | | 222 | 263 | | Zerbochôri |
| 93. Skaftoz | | ? | 318 | | |
| 94. Sokol | | 212-13 | 293-94 | | Sykia |
| 95. Stuki | | 271, 296 | 285, 318 | | |
| 96. Şirpa | | 223-24 | 264-65 | | Sirpa |
| 97. Topoliça (1) | Topoltzos (?) | 188-89 | 306-307 | Arc.St.Jean, n.39.66 | Nea Tyroloê ? |

| | | | | | |
|------------------|----------------|--------|--------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 98. Topoliça (2) | Topoltzos (?) | 277-78 | 284 | Arc.St.Jean, n.39.66 | Nea Tyroloe ? |
| 99. Topolyani | Topolia | 195-96 | 275-76 | Lemerle, <i>Praktikon</i> , 284 | Chrysos |
| 100. Trliç | Trilission | 284-86 | 272-75 | Arc.St.Jean, n. 30.4 | Bathytapos |
| 101. Turbeş | | 243 | 314 | | Makryotissa |
| 102. Urlyako | Orlyakos | 227-28 | 294-95 | Act. Xen., n. 15.12 | Strymmoniko |
| 103. Vayniça | Banitza | 233-34 | ? | Cod. B, n. 117 | Symbolê |
| 104. Vernar | Bernarous | 197-98 | 259-60 | Arc.St.Jean, n. 1.5 | Paralimnio |
| 105. Verzani | | 207 | 315 | | Psychiko |
| 106. Veznik | Benikeia | 232-33 | 311 | Act.St.Pant.,n.11.13 | Agio Pneuma |
| 107. Vişeni | Bisanê | 214 | ? | Act. Kutl., n. 18.45 | Byssinia |
| 108. Zeyli | | 194-95 | 270-71 | | Zili |
| 109. Zuyalo | | 257 | 296 | | |

ii. *Vilayet* of Zichna

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Asomata | Asomatoi | 444-46 | 150-51 | Arc.St.Jean, n.25.4 | |
| 2. Ayanastasia | Ostrinë | 476 | 142-43 | Arc.St.Jean, n. 28.5 | Anastasia |
| 3. Ayonikola | | 470-71 | 149 | | |
| 4. Balihor | | 462-65 | 153-55, 406 | | |
| 5. Begler | | 466-67 | ? | | |
| 6. Dracova | Dratzobitsa (?) | 455-56 | 144-45 | Cod. B, n. 87 | Leukothea (?) |
| 7. Draçova (2) | Dratzobitsa (?) | 374 | 201 | Cod. B, n. 87 | Leukothea (?) |
| 8. Dragoşta | Dragosta | 480 | 139 | Act.St.Pant.,n.11.18 | |
| 9. Gornicava | Gornitzeba | 456 | 145 | Lemerle, <i>Praktikon</i> , 282 | |
| 10. Graçani | | 456, 460-62 | 145, 156-57, 406 | | Agiochori |
| 11. Grizava | Grizoba | 471-72 | 140-41 | Act. Iv. IV, n. 89.20 | Skopia |
| 12. Igligor / Agrida | | 472-73, 473-74, 477-78 | 141-42, 143-44, 503-504 | | |
| 13. İsfolinos | Spholênos | 478-79 | 138-39 | Arc.St.Jean.,n.39.74 | Sphelinos |
| 14. İspancava | | 443-44 | 135-36 | | |
| 15. Kalapod | | 477 | 143, 457 | | Panorama |
| 16. Kasri | | 480-81 | 139-40 | | |
| 17. Klepusna | | 438-40 | 126-27 | | Agrianê |
| 18. Kostirava | | 481 | 140 | | |
| 19. Kruşka | | 271-72 | ? | | |

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| 20. Libahova | | 468-69 | 136-37 | | |
| 21. Lohtišta | Loktista | 474-75 | 137 | Act. Phil., n. 8.21 | Kallikarpon |
| 22. Makori | | 437-38 | 126 | | |
| 23. Perişova | | 357 | 207 | | |
| 24. (Pod)goryani | | 432-33 | 122-23 | | Podogorianê |
| 25. Potamo | | 465-66 | 158 | | |
| 26. Radomisla | | 215 | 319 | | |
| 27. Rahova | Rachoba | 442-43 | 134-35 | Lemerle, <i>Praktikon</i> , 283 | Mesorachê |
| 28. Rosile | Rousalia | 435-36 | 129-30 | Act.Lavr. III, n.120 | Charitomenê |
| 29. Rumençi | | 437 | 125 | | Grammenê |
| 30. Sarvani | | 458-59 | 123 | | |
| 31. Tolos | Tholos | 451-52, 457-58 | 123-24, 132 | Arc.St.Jean, n. 28.9 | Tholos |
| 32.Uglyani (Uglişani) | | 469-70 | 148 | | |
| 33. Vulho (Velço) | | ? | 81-82 | | |
| 34. Zelihova | Zelichoba | 449-51, 453-54 | 131-32, 133 | Arc.St.Jean, n. 9.14 | Nea Zichna |

iii. *Vilayet* of Keşişlik

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Ancista | Aggista | 345-48 | 214-16 | Act.St.Pant.,n.11.12 | Aggista |
| 2. Boblyani | Bomplianê | 383-85 | 170-71 | Act. Lavr. II, n. 112.38 | Akropotamos |
| 3. Canos | Tzainou | 352-54 | 210 | Act. Phil., n. 6.28 | Tsanos |
| 4. Çereplyani | Tzereplianê | 341-44 | 183-85 | Act.Iv. III, n.74.230 | Hêliokômê |
| 5. Dekališta | Dekalista | 400-401 | 203-204 | Act. Chil., n. 39.21 | |
| 6. Doksobino | Doxompous | 362-64 | 192-94 | Act.Lavr.II, n. 104 | Myrkinos |
| 7. Drestinica | | 394-95 | 190 | | Trestenitsa |
| 8. Gaydarihor | Aeidarokastron | 378, 393, 397-98 | 182-83, 191, 205 | Act.Lavr.II, n.105.5 | |
| 9. Hendike | Chandax | 337-38 | 216-17 | Act. Zogr., n. 29.8 | |
| 10. Hotoliva | Chotolibous | 340, 344 | 165 | Goudas, <i>Batopedi</i> , n. 14.28 | Phôtoleibos |
| 11. Hrisopoli | Chrysoupolis | ? | 217-18 | | |
| 12. Hudina | Choudina | 370 | 187-88 | Act. Chil., n. 38.36 | |
| 13. Humniko | | 368-70 | 186-87 | | |
| 14. İftalid | | ? | 88 | | |
| 15. İgligor (mez.) | | ? | 175 | | |
| 16. İldomišta | Aigidomista | 404-405, 406-407 | 173, 175- 76 | Act.St.Pant.,n.11.14 | Prôtê |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|------------|
| 17. İlşani (Leşani) | Lestianê | 419-20 | 188-89 | Act. Phil., n. 9.16 | |
| 18. İsfameno | Esphagmenou | 333-34 | 161 | Arc.St.Jean, n.11.14 | Pliakos |
| 19. İstavros (mez.) | | 380-81 | ? | | |
| 20. İveros | Melintzianê | 339 | 164-65 | Act. Iv. III, n. 70.4 | |
| 21. İvlahişta | | 358 | 207-208 | | |
| 22. İvrana Kasri | Branokastron | 381-82 | 59, 211-12 | | |
| 23. İzdravik | Sdrabikion | 359-62, 365-66, 405, 407 | 174, 176, 180-82, 197 | Act. Chil., n. 39.6 | Drabêskos |
| 24. Kaliyorhor | | 344-45 | ? | | |
| 25. Kasri | Kastrion | 446-47 | 152 | Act. Chil., n. 16.4 | |
| 26. Keşani | | 391-92 | ? | | |
| 27. Keserapoli | Kaisaropolis | 366 | 197 | Act. Chil., n. 39.10 | |
| 28. Kocak | Kotzakion | 351 | 172-73 | Act. Iv. III, n. 81.14 | Myrrinê |
| 29. Komaryani | | 415-16 | 213-14 | | |
| 30. Koromişta | Koromista | 376-78 | 194-95 | Act. Lavr. III, n. 140.12 | Kormista |
| 31. Kostorombo | | 356-57 | 206-207 | | |
| 32. Kostimbo | Gostompous | 367-68, 449 | 147, 185-86 | Lemerle, <i>Praktikon</i> , 283 | |
| 33. Kruşava | Krousobos | 335-36 | 163 | Act. Esph., n. 14.76 | Kerdylia |
| 34. Kuçi | Koutzê | 334-35 | 162 | Act. Chil., n. 26.86 | Eukarpia |
| 35. Levendo | | 382-83 | 182 | | |
| 36. Likovik | Loukobikeia | 414, 447-49 | 146-47, 212-13 | Act. Zogr., n. 19.20 | Mesolakkia |
| 37. Manolişa | | 385-87 | 178-79 | | |
| 38. Marmara | Marmarion | 403 | 211 | Act. Zogr., n. 26.71 | |
| 39. Muncani | Mountzianê | ? | 87-88 | Act. Chil., n. 13.72 | |
| 40. Munuho | Eunouchou | 412-14 | 166 | Act. Chil., n. 38.46 | |
| 41. Nihori | | 388-89 | 196 | | Neochôrion |
| 42. Nisi | Nêsi | ? | 147 | Act. Zogr., n. 39.60 | |
| 43. Orfano | | 371-72 | 168 | | Orphani |
| 44. Osika | | 389-91, 417-18 | 171-72, 177-78 | | |
| 45. Patrik | Ptelea, Patrikiou | 379-80 | 211 | Act. Chil., n. 23.7 | |
| 46. Potolino | Potholinos | 332-33 | 160-61 | Act. Chil., n. 149.8 | Pethelinos |
| 47. Pravişta | Prebista | 372-74, 375-76, 396-97, 411-12 | 174, 179-80, 199-200, 208-209 | Act. Zogr., n. 16.11 | Palaiokômê |

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|----------|----------|-----------------------|-----------|
| 48. Prinar | Prinarion | 398-99 | 167 | Act.Lavr.II, n.105.5 | |
| 49. Radilofo | Radolibos | 408-11 | 168-70 | Act. Iv. III, n. 74.6 | Rodolibos |
| 50. Sotiriho | Sôtêrichou | 415, 416 | 151, 213 | Act. Zogr., n. 26.75 | |
| 51. Vitaçışta | | 354-55 | 205-206 | | Krênis |
| 52. Vulçışta | Beltzistha | 348-50 | 201-203 | Act.St.Pant., n.12.6 | Domêros |
| 53. Yesni | | 379 | ? | | |
| 54. Yorgila | Geôrgila | 401-402 | 204-205 | Act. Chil., n. 41.58 | |
| 55. Zavarnik | Zabarnikeia | 387-88 | 195-96 | Act. Chil., n. 39.31 | |

Table IXb

Villages of South-eastern Macedonia recorded in the *defters* of 1454/55 and 1478/79

i. Vilayet of Serres

| | 1454/55 | | | | | | | 1478/79 | | | | | |
|--|---------|---|---|------------|---|----|---------|---------|---|------------|----|----|---------|
| Village name | Muslims | | | Christians | | | people± | Muslims | | Christians | | | people± |
| | H | M | B | H | M | B | | H | M | H | M | B | |
| 1. Apudiya | - | - | - | 52 | 8 | 17 | 319 | 1 | - | 52 | 13 | 13 | 317 |
| 2. Avdomal | - | - | - | 21 | 6 | 15 | 156 | - | - | 23 | - | 7 | 136 |
| 3. Ayanargir | - | - | - | 14 | 4 | 9 | 101 | - | - | 24 | - | 1 | 123 |
| 4. Ayo Dimitri | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 12 | 1 | 1 | 64 |
| 5. Ayo Yorgi / Skafaros / Kolovertos | 4 | - | - | 28 | 5 | 5 | 180 | 5 | - | 38 | 4 | 3 | 228 |
| 6. Bato | - | - | - | 24 | 5 | 4 | 137 | - | - | 15 | - | - | 75 |
| 7. Branduli | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 5 | - | - | 25 |
| 8. Braniça | - | - | - | 12 | 3 | 2 | 69 | - | - | 13 | - | - | 65 |
| 9. Brezničko | - | - | - | 29 | 4 | 4 | 161 | - | - | 30 | - | 6 | 168 |
| 10. Cincos | - | - | - | 30 | 4 | 3 | 163 | - | - | 51 | - | 4 | 267 |
| 11. Çeltukçi | 3 | - | - | - | - | - | 15 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 12. Çernoglav | - | - | - | 22 | 4 | 5 | 129 | - | - | 18 | - | 2 | 96 |
| 13. Çuligova | 1 | - | - | 28 | 4 | 5 | 164 | 2 | - | 36 | - | 2 | 196 |
| 14. Depşani | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 30 | - | 6 | 168 |
| 15. Dimitriçi | 6 | - | - | 18 | 3 | 13 | 162 | 5 | - | 25 | - | 9 | 177 |
| 16. Dovišta | - | - | - | 21 | 2 | 6 | 125 | - | - | 17 | - | 1 | 88 |
| 17. Dragomirava | 2 | - | - | 29 | 4 | 8 | 183 | 1 | - | 27 | 2 | 1 | 145 |
| 18. Dragoş | - | - | - | 14 | 3 | 10 | 103 | - | - | 32 | - | 4 | 172 |
| 19. Dranova | - | - | - | 21 | 2 | 2 | 113 | - | - | 18 | 1 | 2 | 97 |
| 20. Dravaçista | 1 | - | - | 15 | - | 2 | 86 | - | - | 10 | - | 1 | 53 |
| 21. Dravaçista (Kavaklu) | 2 | - | - | 12 | 1 | 2 | 77 | 1 | - | 12 | - | - | 65 |
| 22. Dreveşani | - | - | - | 16 | 4 | 13 | 123 | - | - | 15 | - | - | 75 |
| 23. Dunba | - | - | - | 131 | - | 18 | 709 | 31 | - | 71 | - | 4 | 522 |
| 24. Ezova | - | - | - | 53 | 8 | 20 | 333 | - | - | 91 | - | 8 | 479 |
| 25. Frastani | - | - | - | 30 | 6 | 8 | 180 | - | - | 90 | - | 4 | 462 |
| 26. Gorne Trliç | - | - | - | 46 | 8 | 2 | 244 | - | - | 85 | 5 | 1 | 433 |
| 27. Goryani | - | - | - | 55 | 8 | 26 | 361 | - | - | 43 | - | 6 | 233 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | 1454/55 | | | | | | | 1478/79 | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------|---|---|------------|----|----|--------|---------|---|------------|----|----|--------|--|
| Village name | Muslims | | | Christians | | | people | Muslims | | Christians | | | people | |
| | H | M | B | H | M | B | | H | M | H | M | B | | |
| 28. Gradista (mezraa) | - | - | - | 4 | - | 1 | 23 | - | - | 5 | - | - | 25 | |
| 29. Homondos | 1 | - | - | 42 | 10 | 11 | 258 | - | - | 35 | 6 | 4 | 193 | |
| 30. Hrisostomos | - | - | - | 16 | 4 | 7 | 105 | - | - | 14 | - | 3 | 79 | |
| 31. Hristos | - | - | - | 61 | 8 | 8 | 337 | 1 | - | 55 | 3 | 4 | 295 | |
| 32. Ikseno Çernoglav | - | - | - | 16 | 4 | 1 | 87 | - | - | 15 | 2 | 2 | 83 | |
| 33.Iksimile | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 34. Iksira Lutro | - | - | - | 20 | 5 | 3 | 114 | - | - | 24 | 1 | 3 | 130 | |
| 35. Ilise | 13 | 3 | 2 | - | - | - | 74 | 66 | - | - | - | - | 330 | |
| 36. Iskokos | 2 | - | - | 32 | 2 | 2 | 178 | 2 | - | 23 | - | 5 | 140 | |
| 37. Istarcista | - | - | - | 45 | 6 | 5 | 246 | - | - | 71 | - | 5 | 370 | |
| 38. Istoya | 1 | - | - | 25 | 5 | 5 | 150 | - | - | 17 | - | 8 | 109 | |
| 39. Ivrendi | - | - | - | 51 | 3 | - | 258 | - | - | 70 | 6 | 5 | 371 | |
| 40. Kalbastiça | - | - | - | 90 | 11 | 31 | 554 | 4 | - | 66 | - | 3 | 359 | |
| 41. Kamenik | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 9 | - | - | 45 | |
| 42. Kato Ivrendi | 3 | 2 | - | 132 | 10 | 14 | 729 | 6 | - | 179 | 12 | 19 | 994 | |
| 43. Keçi Dumba | - | - | - | 21 | 4 | 12 | 145 | - | - | 50 | - | - | 250 | |
| 44. Koçani | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 12 | - | - | 60 | |
| 45. Kopaç | 6 | - | - | 46 | 9 | 9 | 296 | 6 | - | 37 | - | 2 | 221 | |
| 46. Korinça | - | - | - | 44 | - | 5 | 235 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | |
| 47. Korlukava | - | - | - | 181 | 14 | 43 | 1048 | 10 | - | 242 | 20 | 29 | 1367 | |
| 48. Korogonto | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 6 | - | - | 30 | |
| 49. Kosyani | 1 | - | - | 46 | 5 | 11 | 273 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | |
| 50. Konsava | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 27 | 3 | 1 | 141 | |
| 51. Krakya | - | - | - | 4 | - | - | 20 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | |
| 52. Kravasmun | 1 | - | - | 29 | 8 | 9 | 185 | - | - | 39 | 2 | 6 | 215 | |
| 53. Kuça | - | - | - | 10 | - | 1 | 53 | - | - | 2 | - | - | 10 | |
| 54. Kudelino | - | - | - | 20 | 5 | 4 | 117 | 3 | - | 25 | - | 2 | 146 | |
| 55. Lako | - | - | - | 30 | 6 | 4 | 168 | - | - | 16 | - | 1 | 83 | |
| 56. Lakos / Makeşi | - | - | - | 44 | - | 9 | 247 | - | - | 79 | 10 | 4 | 417 | |
| 57. Lazari Rastani (Lazar) | - | - | - | 63 | 3 | 5 | 333 | - | - | 55 | 4 | 8 | 303 | |
| 58. Lepsani | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 45 | 5 | 7 | 251 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | 1454/55 | | | | | | 1478/79 | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|---|---|------------|----|----|---------|---------|---|------------|---|----|--------|
| Village name | Muslims | | | Christians | | | People | Muslims | | Christians | | | People |
| | H | M | B | H | M | B | | H | M | H | M | B | |
| 59. Likva | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 28 | - | 2 | 146 |
| 60. Makrosilko | - | - | - | 7 | 1 | 5 | 51 | - | - | 6 | - | 1 | 33 |
| 61. Marmori | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 1 | - | 22 | - | 5 | 130 |
| 62. Megalos Lakos | - | - | - | 20 | 4 | 14 | 146 | - | - | 18 | 2 | 8 | 116 |
| 63. Menlikîç | - | - | - | 39 | 4 | 19 | 256 | 1 | - | 59 | - | 11 | 333 |
| 64. Meryani | - | - | - | 80 | - | 7 | 421 | - | - | 84 | - | 5 | 435 |
| 65. Metafitos | - | - | - | 6 | - | - | 30 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 66. Metohi | 4 | - | - | 15 | 3 | 7 | 119 | 2 | - | 18 | - | 2 | 106 |
| 67. Midrapolid | - | - | - | 22 | 4 | 6 | 132 | - | - | 23 | - | 5 | 130 |
| 68. Mnstor (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 69. Moglani | - | - | - | 12 | 4 | 7 | 85 | - | - | 11 | - | 6 | 73 |
| 70. Monospita | - | - | - | 27 | 4 | 18 | 193 | - | - | 30 | 7 | 6 | 175 |
| 71. Moravinça | 1 | - | - | 11 | 2 | 5 | 77 | - | - | 26 | - | - | 130 |
| 72. Murtad | - | - | - | 10 | 1 | 2 | 57 | - | - | 11 | - | 3 | 64 |
| 73. Nehtayor (?) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 66 | - | 16 | 378 |
| 74. Negoslav | 3 | - | - | 37 | 5 | 13 | 244 | 4 | - | 40 | - | 3 | 235 |
| 75. Nigrita | - | - | - | 22 | 6 | 7 | 137 | - | - | 22 | - | - | 110 |
| 76. Notişani | 1 | - | - | 54 | 8 | 13 | 322 | - | - | 47 | - | 4 | 247 |
| 77. Nuska | 4 | - | - | 75 | 6 | 18 | 455 | 4 | - | 53 | 5 | 11 | 323 |
| 78. Oksa | - | - | - | 32 | 4 | 4 | 176 | - | - | 56 | - | 3 | 295 |
| 79. Paniç | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 4 | - | 20 | - | 1 | 123 |
| 80. Petriçko | - | - | - | 11 | - | - | 55 | - | - | 10 | - | 2 | 56 |
| 81. Platniça | - | - | - | 53 | 8 | 8 | 297 | 1 | - | 149 | - | 6 | 768 |
| 82. Praniçko | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 9 | - | - | 45 |
| 83. Prilepyani | - | - | - | 21 | 3 | 10 | 138 | 1 | - | 43 | 4 | 2 | 230 |
| 84. Prilepuniça | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 7 | - | 1 | 38 |
| 85. Produşniça | - | - | - | 12 | 3 | 6 | 81 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 86. Prosnik | - | - | - | 80 | 14 | 17 | 465 | - | - | 84 | - | 3 | 429 |
| 87. Rahova | - | - | - | 9 | 2 | 2 | 53 | - | - | 10 | - | 1 | 53 |
| 88. Rahoviça | - | - | - | 13 | - | 4 | 77 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 89. Ramunç | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 7 | - | - | 35 |
| 90. Rizinava | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 135 | 6 | 3 | 690 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | 1454/55 | | | | | | | 1478/79 | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|---|---|------------|----|----|--------|---------|---|------------|----|----|--------|
| Village name | Muslims | | | Christians | | | | Muslims | | Christians | | | People |
| | H | M | B | H | M | B | People | H | M | H | M | B | |
| 91. Sarmusaklu | - | - | - | 150 | 21 | 14 | 813 | 8 | - | 150 | 19 | 13 | 848 |
| 92. Servahor | - | - | - | 9 | 1 | 2 | 52 | - | - | 8 | 2 | 3 | 51 |
| 93. Skaftoz | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 5 | - | - | 25 |
| 94. Sokol | - | - | - | 45 | 8 | 11 | 266 | - | - | 41 | - | 7 | 226 |
| 95. Stuki | - | - | - | 21 | 3 | 2 | 114 | 1 | - | 17 | - | - | 90 |
| 96. Şirpa | - | - | - | 32 | 4 | 6 | 182 | - | - | 38 | - | 9 | 217 |
| 97. Topoliça (1) | - | - | - | 21 | 4 | 7 | 130 | - | - | 23 | - | 2 | 121 |
| 98. Topoliça (2) | 4 | - | - | 35 | 6 | 13 | 240 | 5 | - | 33 | 5 | 17 | 246 |
| 99. Topolyani | 2 | - | - | 44 | 8 | 18 | 292 | 3 | - | 38 | - | 13 | 244 |
| 100. Trliç | - | - | - | 130 | 11 | 14 | 703 | - | - | 194 | 16 | 7 | 1007 |
| 101. Turbeş | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | 10 | - | - | 11 | 1 | 1 | 59 |
| 102. Urlyako | 2 | - | - | 70 | 7 | 9 | 394 | 3 | - | 74 | 7 | 2 | 398 |
| 103. Vayniça | 5 | - | - | 22 | 4 | 5 | 154 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 104. Vernar | - | - | - | 32 | 5 | 4 | 177 | - | - | 41 | - | 6 | 223 |
| 105. Verzani | - | - | - | 10 | 3 | 5 | 68 | - | - | 12 | - | 1 | 63 |
| 106. Veznik | 1 | - | - | 18 | 4 | 5 | 114 | - | - | 16 | - | - | 80 |
| 107. Vişeni | - | - | - | 26 | 5 | 9 | 162 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 108. Zeyli | 2 | - | - | 54 | 8 | 9 | 315 | - | - | 50 | 4 | 4 | 266 |
| 109. Zuyalo | - | - | - | 10 | 3 | 1 | 56 | - | - | 7 | - | - | 35 |
| Çeltükçiyan | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 10 | - | 38 | - | - | 240 |
| Monks of St. John monastery | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | - | 30 | - | 30 |
| Persons of uncertain residence | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 16 | - | 4 | 92 |

ii. Vilayet of Zichna

| | 1454/55 | | | | | | | 1478/79 | | | | | |
|----------------|---------|---|---|------------|----|----|----------|---------|---|------------|---|----|----------|
| Village name | Muslims | | | Christians | | | | Muslims | | Christians | | | |
| | H | M | B | H | M | B | people ± | H | M | H | M | B | People ± |
| 1. Asomata | - | - | - | 48 | 4 | 9 | 271 | - | - | 54 | - | 7 | 291 |
| 2. Ayanastasia | - | - | - | 20 | 5 | 2 | 111 | - | - | 23 | 2 | 4 | 129 |
| 3. Ayonikola | - | - | - | 6 | - | 1 | 33 | - | - | 2 | - | 1 | 13 |
| 4. Balihor | - | - | - | 125 | 20 | 18 | 699 | - | - | 169 | 7 | 19 | 909 |
| | 1454/55 | | | | | | | 1478/79 | | | | | |

| Village name | Muslims | | | Christians | | | | Muslims | | Christians | | | |
|--------------------------|---------|---|---|------------|----|----|----------|---------|---|------------|---|----|----------|
| | H | M | B | H | M | B | people ± | H | M | H | M | B | people ± |
| 5. Begler | - | - | - | 34 | 8 | 13 | 217 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 6. Dracova | - | - | - | 24 | 4 | 3 | 133 | 1 | - | 20 | 5 | 4 | 122 |
| 7. Draçova (2) | - | - | - | 8 | - | 3 | 49 | - | - | 6 | - | 1 | 33 |
| 8. Dragoşta | - | - | - | 10 | 1 | 2 | 57 | - | - | 9 | 2 | - | 47 |
| 9. Gornicava | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | 15 | - | - | 2 | - | - | 10 |
| 10. Graçani | - | - | - | 76 | 11 | 13 | 430 | 1 | - | 70 | - | 10 | 385 |
| 11. Grizava | - | - | - | 30 | 4 | 2 | 160 | 2 | - | 45 | - | 4 | 247 |
| 12. İgligor / Agrida | 1 | - | - | 35 | 9 | 4 | 201 | 2 | - | 63 | - | 5 | 340 |
| 13. İsfolinos | 8 | - | 1 | 30 | 5 | 4 | 210 | 16 | - | 28 | 5 | 2 | 231 |
| 14. İspancava | 3 | - | - | 27 | 3 | 3 | 162 | 2 | - | 34 | - | 3 | 189 |
| 15. Kalapod | - | - | - | 10 | - | 1 | 53 | 2 | - | 40 | 4 | 1 | 217 |
| 16. Kasri | - | - | - | 12 | 2 | 4 | 74 | - | - | 15 | 1 | 3 | 85 |
| 17. Klepusna | 1 | - | - | 54 | 8 | 6 | 301 | - | - | 61 | - | 7 | 326 |
| 18. Kostirava | - | - | - | 9 | - | - | 45 | - | - | 5 | - | 5 | 40 |
| 19. Kruşka | - | - | - | 9 | - | 2 | 51 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 20. Libahova | 3 | - | - | 40 | 6 | 8 | 245 | 1 | - | 40 | 3 | 4 | 220 |
| 21. Lohtiştá | - | - | - | 19 | - | 2 | 101 | - | - | 24 | - | - | 120 |
| 22. Makori | - | - | - | 10 | 2 | 5 | 67 | - | - | 13 | - | 1 | 68 |
| 23. Perişova | - | - | - | 10 | 3 | 2 | 59 | - | - | 16 | 2 | 1 | 85 |
| 24. (Pod)goryani | 3 | - | - | 20 | 5 | 4 | 132 | - | - | 36 | - | 7 | 201 |
| 25. Potamo | - | - | - | 7 | - | 2 | 41 | - | - | 5 | - | - | 25 |
| 26. Radomisla | - | - | - | 3 | - | 2 | 21 | 1 | - | 4 | - | - | 25 |
| 27. Rahova | 8 | - | - | 45 | 5 | 3 | 279 | 8 | 3 | 75 | - | 1 | 421 |
| 28. Rosile | 1 | - | - | 67 | 14 | 8 | 378 | 9 | - | 77 | 6 | 15 | 481 |
| 29. Rumençi | 3 | - | - | 9 | - | 1 | 63 | 2 | - | 13 | - | 2 | 81 |
| 30. Sarvani | - | - | - | 15 | 3 | 3 | 87 | - | - | 10 | - | 2 | 56 |
| 31. Tolos | 15 | - | - | 30 | 7 | 14 | 274 | 8 | - | 35 | - | 9 | 242 |
| 32.Uglyani (Uglişani) | 1 | - | - | 11 | 8 | 2 | 74 | 1 | - | 19 | 2 | 6 | 120 |
| 33. Vulho (Velço) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 4 | - | - | 20 |
| 34. Zelihova | 14 | - | - | 97 | 9 | 33 | 663 | 19 | - | 93 | 5 | 17 | 616 |

iii. Vilayet of Keşişlik

| | 1454/55 | | | | | | | 1478/79 | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|---|---|------------|----|----|----------|---------|---|------------|----|----|----------|--|
| Village name | Muslims | | | Christians | | | | Muslims | | Christians | | | | |
| | H | M | B | H | M | B | People ± | H | M | H | M | B | People ± | |
| 1. Ancista | 4 | - | - | 111 | 7 | 26 | 660 | - | - | 123 | 5 | 9 | 647 | |
| 2. Boblyani | - | - | - | 36 | 4 | 8 | 208 | 4 | - | 31 | 2 | 4 | 189 | |
| 3. Canos | 1 | - | - | 68 | 12 | 32 | 453 | - | - | 55 | 5 | 3 | 289 | |
| 4. Çereplyani | 1 | - | - | 113 | 18 | 32 | 684 | 4 | - | 115 | 11 | 17 | 657 | |
| 5. Dekališta | - | - | - | 34 | 8 | 17 | 229 | - | - | 48 | 11 | - | 251 | |
| 6. Doksobino | 1 | - | - | 80 | 9 | 35 | 519 | - | - | 88 | 2 | 7 | 463 | |
| 7. Drestinica | - | - | - | 19 | 4 | 5 | 114 | 1 | - | 25 | 3 | 3 | 142 | |
| 8. Gaydarihor | 1 | - | - | 33 | 7 | 5 | 192 | - | - | 39 | 5 | 4 | 212 | |
| 9. Hendike | - | - | - | 48 | - | 16 | 288 | - | - | 40 | 7 | 22 | 273 | |
| 10. Hotoliva | 1 | - | - | 19 | 3 | 9 | 130 | 1 | - | 11 | 2 | - | 62 | |
| 11. Hrisopoli | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 2 | - | 80 | - | 10 | 440 | |
| 12. Hudina | - | - | - | 6 | - | 3 | 39 | - | - | 5 | - | 2 | 31 | |
| 13. Humniko | - | - | - | 38 | 4 | 19 | 251 | - | - | 49 | 8 | 18 | 307 | |
| 14. İftalid | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | |
| 15. İgligor (mez.) | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | - | - | 1 | - | - | 5 | |
| 16. İldomišta | - | - | - | 52 | 9 | 5 | 284 | 2 | - | 53 | 3 | 11 | 311 | |
| 17. İlşani (Leşani) | - | - | - | 34 | 8 | 4 | 190 | - | - | 45 | 5 | 7 | 251 | |
| 18. İsfameno | - | - | - | 16 | 4 | 5 | 102 | - | - | 21 | - | 4 | 117 | |
| 19. İstavros (mez.) | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 5 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | |
| 20. İveros | 1 | - | - | 13 | 6 | 6 | 94 | 1 | 1 | 12 | 2 | - | 68 | |
| 21. İvlahišta | 1 | - | - | 2 | - | - | 15 | 1 | - | 8 | - | - | 45 | |
| 22. İvrana Kasri | - | - | - | 34 | 4 | 13 | 213 | 3 | - | 65 | 6 | 11 | 379 | |
| 23. İzdravik | 6 | - | - | 141 | 14 | 51 | 902 | 5 | - | 159 | 12 | 26 | 910 | |
| 24. Kaliyorhor | - | - | - | 3 | - | 1 | 18 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | |
| 25. Kasri | - | - | - | 30 | 6 | 6 | 174 | - | - | 34 | - | 3 | 179 | |
| 26. Keşani | - | - | - | 40 | 6 | 8 | 230 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | |
| 27. Keserapoli | - | - | - | 4 | - | 3 | 29 | - | - | 4 | 1 | 2 | 27 | |
| 28. Kocak | 1 | - | - | 12 | 2 | 7 | 88 | - | - | 11 | - | 1 | 58 | |
| 29. Komaryani | - | - | - | 5 | - | 2 | 31 | 2 | - | 11 | 1 | - | 66 | |
| 30. Koromišta | 5 | - | - | 50 | 5 | 12 | 316 | 5 | - | 60 | 5 | 6 | 348 | |
| 31. Kosromiya/ Kostorombo | 1 | - | - | 30 | 5 | 11 | 193 | - | - | 33 | 2 | 3 | 176 | |
| | 1454/55 | | | | | | | 1478/79 | | | | | | |
| Village name | Muslims | | | Christians | | | | Muslims | | Christians | | | | |

| | H | M | B | H | M | B | People ± | H | M | H | M | B | People ± |
|---------------|---|---|---|-----|----|----|----------|---|---|-----|---|----|----------|
| 32. Kostimbo | - | - | - | 45 | 4 | 18 | 283 | - | - | 48 | 3 | 8 | 267 |
| 33. Kruşava | - | - | - | 44 | 7 | 9 | 254 | - | - | 13 | - | 5 | 80 |
| 34. Kuçi | - | - | - | 9 | 2 | 14 | 89 | - | - | 19 | - | 7 | 116 |
| 35. Levendo | - | - | - | 10 | 3 | 5 | 68 | - | - | 5 | - | - | 25 |
| 36. Likovik | 6 | - | - | 52 | 4 | 6 | 312 | 8 | - | 62 | - | 13 | 389 |
| 37. Manolişa | - | - | - | 60 | 4 | 20 | 364 | 1 | - | 41 | 2 | 5 | 227 |
| 38. Marmara | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 39. Muncani | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 1 | - | 7 | - | - | 40 |
| 40. Munuho | 1 | - | - | 56 | 8 | 9 | 320 | - | - | 42 | 2 | 3 | 221 |
| 41. Nihori | - | - | - | 12 | 3 | 3 | 72 | - | - | 9 | - | 3 | 54 |
| 42. Nisi | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | 1 | - | 22 | - | 2 | 121 |
| 43. Orfano | 2 | - | - | 27 | 4 | 13 | 188 | 1 | - | 27 | 1 | - | 141 |
| 44. Osika | - | - | - | 103 | 14 | 15 | 574 | - | - | 71 | 3 | 5 | 373 |
| 45. Patrik | - | - | - | 24 | 4 | 8 | 148 | - | - | 19 | - | 2 | 101 |
| 46. Potolino | 3 | - | - | 32 | 3 | 13 | 217 | 5 | 3 | 41 | 2 | 4 | 247 |
| 47. Pravišta | 2 | - | - | 110 | 18 | 36 | 686 | 7 | - | 126 | 6 | 19 | 728 |
| 48. Prinar | 3 | - | - | 20 | 8 | 11 | 156 | 5 | - | 21 | 4 | 3 | 143 |
| 49. Radilofo | 2 | - | - | 107 | 8 | 29 | 640 | 6 | - | 114 | 5 | 22 | 671 |
| 50. Sotiriho | 2 | - | - | 13 | - | 9 | 102 | 2 | - | 12 | 1 | 1 | 74 |
| 51. Vitaçişta | 3 | - | - | 35 | 4 | 10 | 224 | 4 | 3 | 24 | 3 | 3 | 155 |
| 52. Vulçişta | 3 | - | - | 88 | 6 | 22 | 527 | 2 | - | 88 | 7 | 20 | 517 |
| 53. Yesni | 1 | - | - | 11 | 4 | 4 | 76 | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| 54. Yorgila | 2 | - | - | 24 | 5 | 5 | 150 | 1 | - | 19 | 7 | 6 | 125 |
| 55. Zavarnik | - | - | - | 25 | 5 | 11 | 163 | 2 | - | 24 | 2 | 4 | 144 |

Table IXc

Correlation between population and taxed revenue changes between 1454/55 and 1478/79

i. Vilayet of Serres

| Village name | Population estimate | | | Tax-revenue | | |
|--|---------------------|---------|---------------|-------------|---------|---------------|
| | 1454/55 | 1478/79 | Variation (%) | 1454/55 | 1478/79 | Variation (%) |
| 1. Apudiya | 319 | 317 | - 0.62 % | 7783 | 11594 | 48.96 % |
| 2. Avdomal | 156 | 136 | - 12.82 % | 5000 | 6888 | 37.76 % |
| 3. Ayanargir | 101 | 123 | 21.78 % | 1967 | 1575 | - 23.09 % |
| 4. Ayo Dimitri | ? | 64 | | ? | 1066 | |
| 5. Ayo Yorgi / Skafaros / Kolovertos | 180 | 228 | 26.66 % | 5552 | 11875 | 113.88 % |
| 6. Bato | 137 | 75 | - 45.25 % | 3344 | 3853 | 15.22 % |
| 7. Branduli | ? | 25 | | ? | 4040 | |
| 8. Braniça | 69 | 65 | - 5.79 % | 398 | 505 | 26.88 % |
| 9. Brezničko | 161 | 168 | 4.34 % | 4201 | 4748 | 13.02 % |
| 10. Cincos | 163 | 267 | 63.80 % | 4398 | 8104 | 84.26 % |
| 11. Çeltukçi | 15 | ? | | 54 | ? | |
| 12. Çernoglav | 129 | 96 | - 25.58 % | 4585 | 4140 | - 9.70 % |
| 13. Çuligova | 164 | 196 | 19.51 % | 4718 | 6831 | 44.78 % |
| 14. Depşani | ? | 168 | | ? | 2756 | |
| 15. Dimitriçi | 162 | 177 | 9.25 % | 4432 | 7654 | 72.69 % |
| 16. Dovišta | 125 | 88 | - 29.60 % | 2824 | 2571 | - 8.95 % |
| 17. Dragomirava | 183 | 145 | - 20.76 % | 3246 | 6322 | 94.76 % |
| 18. Dragoş | 103 | 172 | 66.99 % | 3365 | 4538 | 34.85 % |
| 19. Dranova | 113 | 97 | - 14.15 % | 1369 | 1418 | 3.57 % |
| 20. Dravaçista | 86 | 53 | - 38.37 % | 1675 | 5186 | 14.68 % |
| 21. Dravaçista (Kavaklu) | 77 | 65 | - 15.58 % | 3506 | 3708 | 5.76 % |
| 22. Dreveşani | 123 | 75 | - 39.02 % | 7229 | 4190 | - 42.03 % |
| 23. Dunba | 709 | 522 | - 26.37 % | 9119 | 21688 | 137.83 % |
| 24. Ezova | 333 | 479 | 43.84 % | 10304 | 11053 | 7.26 % |
| 25. Frastani | 180 | 462 | 156.66 % | 2133 | 7126 | 234.08 % |
| 26. Gorne Trliç | 244 | 433 | 77.45 % | 3624 | 6950 | 91.77 % |
| 27. Goryani | 361 | 233 | - 35.45 % | 7007 | 6306 | - 10 % |
| 28. Gradista (mezraa) | 23 | 25 | 8.69 % | 506 | 2454 | 384.98 % |
| 29. Homondos | 258 | 193 | - 25.19 % | 6548 | 10298 | 57.26 % |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|------|------|-----------|-------|------------------------|-----------|
| 30. Hrisostomos | 105 | 79 | - 24.76 % | 542 | 398 | - 26.56 % |
| 31. Hristos | 337 | 295 | - 12.46 % | 5331 | ? | |
| 32. Ikseno Çernoglav | 87 | 83 | - 4.59 % | 2619 | 2652 | 1.26 % |
| 33. Iksimile | 5 | - | - 100 % | 3027 | 200 | - 93.39 % |
| 34. Iksira Lutro | 114 | 130 | 14.03 % | 3670 | 2458 | - 33.02 % |
| 35. Ilise | 74 | 330 | 345.94 % | 1894 | 5956 | 214.46 % |
| 36. Iskokos | 178 | 140 | - 21.34 % | 5760 | 6149 | 6.75 % |
| 37. Istarcista | 246 | 370 | 50.40 % | 3892 | 10535 | 170.68 % |
| 38. Istoya | 150 | 109 | - 27.33 % | 5697 | 4973 | - 12.70 % |
| 39. Ivrendi | 258 | 371 | 43.79 % | 3539 | 6310 | 78.29 % |
| 40. Kalbastiça | 554 | 359 | - 35.19 % | 11437 | 6180 | - 45.96 % |
| 41. Kamenik | ? | 45 | | ? | 300 | |
| 42. Kato Ivrendi | 729 | 994 | 36.35 % | 10473 | 36446 | 247.99 % |
| 43. Keçi Dumba | 145 | 250 | 72.41 % | 2342 | 1998 | - 14.68 % |
| 44. Koçani | ? | 60 | | ? | 1250 | |
| 45. Kopaç | 296 | 221 | - 25.33 % | 9448 | 10431 | 10.40 % |
| 46. Korinça | 235 | ? | | 3447 | ? | |
| 47. Korlukava | 1048 | 1367 | 30.43 % | 14288 | 29091 | 103.60 % |
| 48. Korogonto | ? | 30 | | ? | 1215 | |
| 49. Kosyani | 273 | ? | | 4769 | ? | |
| 50. Konsava | ? | 141 | | ? | 1926 | |
| 51. Krakya | 20 | ? | | 1318 | ? | |
| 52. Kravasmun | 185 | 215 | 16.21 % | 4534 | 6692 | 47.59 % |
| 53. Kuça | 53 | 10 | - 81.13 % | 920 | 521 | - 43.36 % |
| 54. Kudelino | 117 | 146 | 24.78 % | 3168 | 4723 | 49.08 % |
| 55. Lako | 168 | 83 | - 50.59 % | 2869 | 2205 | - 23.14 % |
| 56. Lakos / Makeşi | 247 | 417 | 68.82 % | 4843 | 9694 | 100.16 % |
| 57. Lazari Rastani (Lazar) | 333 | 303 | -9 % | 9571 | 12611 | 35.96 % |
| 58. Lepsani | ? | 251 | | ? | 7282 | |
| 59. Likva | ? | 146 | | ? | 1571 | |
| 60. Makrosilko | 51 | 33 | -35.29 % | 525 | 9877 (inc. Hristos) | 1781.33 % |
| 61. Marmorì | ? | 130 | | 14941 | ? | |
| 62. Megalos Lakos | 146 | 116 | - 20.54 % | 1350 | 2228 | 65.03 % |
| 63. Menlikîç | 256 | 333 | 30.07 % | 4965 | 7956 | 60.24 % |
| 64. Meryani | 421 | 435 | 3.32 % | 7673 | 17653 | 130.06 % |
| 65. Metafitos | 30 | ? | | - | - | |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|------|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|
| 66. Metohi | 119 | 106 | - 10.92 % | 1079 | 2101 | 94.71 % |
| 67. Midrapolid | 132 | 130 | - 1.51 % | 3556 | 7952 | 123.62 % |
| 68. Mnstor (?) | ? | - | | ? | 585 | |
| 69. Moglani | 85 | 73 | - 14.11 % | 928 | 808 | - 12.93 % |
| 70. Monospita | 193 | 175 | - 9.32 % | 2098 | 2501 | 19.20 % |
| 71. Moravinça | 77 | 130 | 68.83 % | 3448 | 4475 | 29.78 % |
| 72. Murtad | 57 | 64 | 12.28 % | 467 | 708 | 51.60 % |
| 73. Nehtayor (?) | ? | 378 | | ? | 13026 | |
| 74. Negoslav | 244 | 235 | - 3.68 % | 4618 | 6786 | 46.94 % |
| 75. Nigrita | 137 | 110 | - 19.70 % | 2071 | 2855 | 37.85 % |
| 76. Notișani | 322 | 247 | - 23.29 % | 5511 | 4154 | - 24.62 % |
| 77. Nuska | 455 | 323 | - 29.01 % | 5567 | 6497 | 16.70 % |
| 78. Oksa | 176 | 295 | 67.61 % | 2490 | 6493 | 160.76 % |
| 79. Paniç | ? | 123 | | ? | 2217 | |
| 80. Petriçko | 55 | 56 | 1.81 % | 1082 | 1710 | 58.04 % |
| 81. Platniça | 297 | 768 | 158.58 % | 4817 | 10575 | 119.53 % |
| 82. Praniçko | ? | 45 | | ? | 1595 | |
| 83. Prilepyani | 138 | 230 | 66.66 % | 3521 | 5467 | 55.26 % |
| 84. Prilepuniça | ? | 38 | | ? | 886 | |
| 85. Produșniça | 81 | ? | | 1114 | ? | |
| 86. Prosnik | 465 | 429 | - 7.74 % | 13862 | 20723 | 49.49 % |
| 87. Rahova | 53 | 53 | | 456 | 655 | 43.64 % |
| 88. Rahoviça | 77 | ? | | 693 | ? | |
| 89. Ramunç | ? | 35 | | ? | 1226 | |
| 90. Rizinava | ? | 690 | | ? | 8490 | |
| 91. Sarmusaklu | 813 | 848 | 4.30 % | 19141 | 27672 | 44.56 % |
| 92. Servahor | 52 | 51 | - 1.92 % | 1189 | 1548 | 30.19 % |
| 93. Skaftoz | ? | 25 | | ? | 1055 | |
| 94. Sokol | 266 | 226 | - 15.03 % | 5268 | 7387 | 40.22 % |
| 95. Stuki | 114 | 90 | - 21.05 % | 2950 | 3362 | 13.96 % |
| 96. Șirpa | • 182 | 217 | 19.23 % | 2448 | 2487 | 1.59 % |
| 97. Topoliça (1) | 130 | 121 | - 6.92 % | 1415 | 1748 | 23.53 % |
| 98. Topoliça (2) | 240 | 246 | 2.50 % | 5217 | 7462 | 43.03 % |
| 99. Topolyani | 292 | 244 | - 16.43 % | 6546 | 8449 | 29.07 % |
| 100. Trliç | 703 | 1007 | 43.24 % | 12778 | 43265 | 238.58 % |
| 101. Turbeș | 10 | 59 | 490 % | 797 | 1816 | 127.85 % |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----------|------|-------|-----------|
| 102. Urlyako | 394 | 398 | 1.01 % | 9527 | 11230 | 17.87 % |
| 103. Vayniça | 154 | ? | | 1439 | ? | |
| 104. Vernar | 177 | 223 | 25.98 % | 4735 | 8931 | 88.61 % |
| 105. Verzani | 68 | 63 | - 7.35 % | 3150 | 4791 | 52.09 % |
| 106. Veznik | 114 | 80 | - 29.82 % | 2089 | 1757 | - 15.89 % |
| 107. Vişeni | 162 | ? | | 2242 | ? | |
| 108. Zeyli | 315 | 266 | - 15.55 % | 5821 | 8644 | 48.49 % |
| 109. Zuyalo | 56 | 35 | - 37.50 % | 1387 | 1370 | - 1.22 % |

ii. *Vilayet* of Zichna

| Village name | Population estimate | | | Tax revenue | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------|---------------|-------------|---------|---------------|
| | 1454/55 | 1478/79 | Variation (%) | 1454/55 | 1478/79 | Variation (%) |
| 1. Asomata | 271 | 291 | 7.38 % | 6422 | 10331 | 60.86 % |
| 2. Ayanastasia | 111 | 129 | 16.21 % | 2881 | 3579 | 24.22 % |
| 3. Ayonikola | 33 | 13 | - 60.60 % | 526 | 300 | - 42.96 % |
| 4. Balihor | 699 | 909 | 30.04 % | 7910 | 13988 | 76.83 % |
| 5. Begler | 217 | ? | | 2546 | ? | |
| 6. Dracova | 133 | 122 | - 8.27 % | 2951 | 2697 | - 8.60 % |
| 7. Draçova (2) | 49 | 33 | - 32.65 % | 1544 | 2276 | 47.40 % |
| 8. Dragoşta | 57 | 47 | - 17.54 % | 2218 | 3495 | 57.57 % |
| 9. Gornicava | 15 | 10 | - 33.33 % | 757 | 1350 | 78.33 % |
| 10. Graçani | 430 | 385 | - 10.46 % | 4834 | 5004 | 3.51 % |
| 11. Grizava | 160 | 247 | 54.37 % | 4185 | 7686 | 83.65 % |
| 12. Iğligor / Agrida | 201 | 340 | 69.15 % | 3436 | 6520 | 89.75 % |
| 13. İsfolinos | 210 | 231 | 10 % | 3888 | 8469 | 117.82 % |
| 14. İspancava | 162 | 189 | 16.66 % | 3317 | 4801 | 44.73 % |
| 15. Kalapod | 53 | 217 | 309.43 % | 846 | 4902 | 479.43 % |
| 16. Kasri | 74 | 85 | 14.86 % | 1076 | 1400 | 30.11 % |
| 17. Klepusna | 301 | 326 | 8.30 % | 2627 | 3827 | 45.67 % |
| 18. Kostirava | 45 | 40 | - 11.11 % | 467 | 355 | - 23.98 % |
| 19. Kruşka | 51 | ? | | 546 | ? | |
| 20. Libahova | 245 | 220 | - 10.20 % | 4824 | 6102 | 26.49 % |
| 21. Lohtiştá | 101 | 120 | 18.81 % | 1094 | 1921 | 75.59 % |
| 22. Makori | 67 | 68 | 1.49 % | 575 | 630 | 9.56 % |
| 23. Perişova | 59 | 85 | 44.06 % | 777 | 961 | 23.68 % |
| 24. (Pod)goryani | 132 | 201 | 52.27 % | 3034 | 6638 | 118.78 % |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|
| 25. Potamo | 41 | 25 | - 39.02 % | 2516 | 2055 | - 18.32 % |
| 26. Radomisla | 21 | 25 | 19.04 % | 898 | 1597 | 77.83 % |
| 27. Rahova | 279 | 421 | 50.89 % | 3820 | 5652 | 47.95 % |
| 28. Rosile | 378 | 481 | 27.24 % | 3748 | 5149 | 37.37 % |
| 29. Rumençi | 63 | 81 | 28.57 % | 2187 | 2341 | 7.04 % |
| 30. Sarvani | 87 | 56 | - 35.63 % | 968 | 1097 | 13.32 % |
| 31. Tolos | 274 | 242 | - 11.67 % | 8201 | 10800 | 31.69 % |
| 32.Uglyani (Uglişani) | 74 | 120 | 62.16 % | 2938 | 3197 | 8.81 % |
| 33. Vulho (Velço) | ? | 20 | | ? | 1160 | |
| 34. Zelihova | 663 | 616 | - 7.08 % | 12334 | 16010 | 29.80 % |

iii. *Vilayet of Keşişlik*

| Village name | Population Estimate | | | Tax revenue | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------|---------------|-------------|---------|---------------|
| | 1454/55 | 1478/79 | Variation (%) | 1454/55 | 1478/79 | Variation (%) |
| 1. Ancista | 660 | 647 | - 1.96 % | 14510 | 29174 | 101.06 % |
| 2. Boblyani | 208 | 189 | - 9.13 % | 4524 | 7487 | 65.49 % |
| 3. Canos | 453 | 289 | - 36.20 % | 16509 | 17839 | 8.05 % |
| 4. Çereplyani | 684 | 657 | - 3.94 % | 11983 | 13962 | 16.51 % |
| 5. Dekaliştâ | 229 | 251 | 9.60 % | 5736 | 8500 | 48.18 % |
| 6. Doksobino | 519 | 463 | - 10.78 % | 13392 | 18517 | 38.26 % |
| 7. Drestinica | 114 | 142 | 24.56 % | 3512 | 4852 | 38.15 % |
| 8. Gaydarihor | 192 | 212 | 10.41 % | 3861 | 7119 | 84.38 % |
| 9. Hendike | 288 | 273 | - 5.20 % | 5960 | 7701 | 29.21 % |
| 10. Hotoliva | 130 | 62 | - 53.84 % | 4070 | 2966 | - 27.12 % |
| 11. Hrisopoli | ? | 440 | | ? | 2241 | |
| 12. Hudina | 39 | 31 | - 20.51 % | 1407 | 1337 | - 4.97 % |
| 13. Humniko | 251 | 307 | 22.31 % | 6159 | 9863 | 60.13 % |
| 14. İftalid | - | - | | ? | 300 | |
| 15. İgligor (mez.) | ? | 5 | | ? | 200 | |
| 16. İldomiştâ | 284 | 311 | 9.50 % | 4623 | 6496 | 40.51 % |
| 17. İlşani (Leşani) | 190 | 251 | 32.10 % | 6729 | 7282 | 8.21 % |
| 18. İsfameno | 102 | 117 | 14.70 % | 3423 | 3469 | 1.34 % |
| 19. İstavros (mez.) | 5 | ? | | 273 | ? | |
| 20. İveros | 94 | 68 | - 27.65 % | 3143 | 5903 | 87.81 % |
| 21. İvlahiştâ | 15 | 45 | 200 % | 1153 | 1595 | 38.33 % |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----|-----|-----------|---------|-------|-----------|
| 22. İvrana Kasri | 213 | 379 | 77.93 % | 2751 | 7212 | 162.15 % |
| 23. İzdravik | 902 | 910 | 0.88 % | 26145 | 30612 | 17.08 % |
| 24. Kaliyorhor | 18 | ? | | 925 | ? | |
| 25. Kasri | 174 | 179 | 2.87 % | 4423 | 7263 | 64.20 % |
| 26. Keşani | 230 | ? | | 3069 | ? | |
| 27. Keserapoli | 29 | 27 | - 6.89 % | 718 | 1587 | 121.03 % |
| 28. Kocak | 88 | 58 | - 34.09 % | 3398 | 3440 | 1.23 % |
| 29. Komaryani | 31 | 66 | 112.90 % | 5390 | 5876 | 9.01 % |
| 30. Koromišta | 316 | 348 | 10.12 % | 7402 | 9531 | 28.76 % |
| 31. Kosromiya/ Kostorombo | 193 | 176 | - 8.80 % | 2792 | 3598 | 28.86 % |
| 32. Kostimbo | 283 | 267 | - 5.65 % | 7218 | 13178 | 82.57 % |
| 33. Kruşava | 252 | 80 | - 68.50 % | 3243 | 4685 | 44.46 % |
| 34. Kuçi | 89 | 116 | 30.33 % | 4209 | 6032 | 43.31 % |
| 35. Levendo | 68 | 25 | - 63.23 % | 1330 | 400 | - 69.92 % |
| 36. Likovik | 312 | 389 | 24.67 % | 6681 | 9504 | 42.25 % |
| 37. Manolişa | 364 | 227 | - 37.63 % | 6105 | 4021 | - 34.13 % |
| 38. Marmara | ? | ? | | 5900 | 5750 | - 2.54 % |
| 39. Muncani | ? | 40 | | ? | 2732 | |
| 40. Munuho | 320 | 221 | - 30.93 % | 8642 | 15293 | 79.96 % |
| 41. Nihori | 72 | 54 | - 25 % | 1980 | 2313 | 16.81 % |
| 42. Nisi | ? | 121 | | ? | 3019 | |
| 43. Orfano | 188 | 141 | - 25 % | 5996 | 5087 | - 15.16 % |
| 44. Osika | 574 | 373 | - 35.01 % | 12557.5 | 14060 | 11.96 % |
| 45. Patrik | 148 | 101 | - 31.75 % | 3193 | 3757 | 17.66 % |
| 46. Potolino | 217 | 247 | 13.82 % | 6170 | 14165 | 129.57 % |
| 47. Pravišta | 686 | 728 | 6.12 % | 16925.5 | 19878 | 17.44 % |
| 48. Prinar | 156 | 143 | - 8.33 % | 5745 | 7525 | 30.98 % |
| 49. Radilofo | 640 | 671 | 4.84 % | 10758 | 15526 | 44.32 % |
| 50. Sotiriho | 102 | 74 | - 27.45 % | 5092 | 7772 | 52.63 % |
| 51. Vitaçişta | 224 | 155 | - 30.80 % | 3976 | 2598 | - 34.65 % |
| 52. Vulçişta | 527 | 517 | - 1.89 % | 8458 | 11889 | 40.56 % |
| 53. Yesni | 76 | ? | | 1994 | ? | |
| 54. Yorgila | 150 | 125 | - 16.66 % | 7407 | 8194 | 10.62 % |
| 55. Zavarnik | 163 | 144 | - 11.65 % | 5150 | 5738 | 11.41 % |

Table X

The economic situation and the breaking up of revenues according to their source, in percentage of total output, in Radolibos and Doxompous, in the 14th and 15th centuries

1) 14th century

| Radolibos 1316 | | | Doxompous 1317 | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---------------|--|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| Population : 865 | | | Population : 409 | | |
| Crops | | | Crops | | |
| wheat | 321 <i>ann. modioi</i> (2,738.45 kg) | | wheat | 85 <i>ann. modioi</i> (725.13 kg) | |
| barley | 321 <i>ann. modioi</i> (2,738.45 kg) | | barley | 85 <i>ann. modioi</i> (725.13 kg) | |
| | | | flax | allegedly produced | |
| | | | | | |
| Cash payments in <i>hyperpyra</i> (share of total revenue) | | | Cash payments in <i>hyperpyra</i> (share of total revenue) | | |
| <i>telos</i> | vines | 270 (68.70 %) | <i>telos</i> | vines | 119 (17.97 %) |
| | oxen | 24 (6.10 %) | | oxen | 17 (2.56 %) |
| | | | | cows | 3 (0.45 %) |
| | unattributable | 27 (6.87 %) | | unattributable | 31 (4.68 %) |
| | total of <i>telos</i> | 321 | | total of <i>telos</i> | 170 |
| other | pasturage | 33 (8.39 %) | other | pasturage / fines | 20 (3.02 %) |
| | occasional/fines | 13 (3.30 %) | | | |
| | fair | 3 (0.76 %) | | fair | 10 (1.51 %) |
| | land leases | 23 (5.85 %) | | land leases | 80 (12.08 %) |
| | | | | admin. charges | 65 (9.81 %) |
| | | | | flax mill | 10 (1.51 %) |
| | | | | fishing | 307 (46.37 %) |
| total | | 393 (100 %) | total | | 662 |
| | | | | | |
| corvée | 24 days in a year | | corvée | 24 days in a year | |
| | | | | | |
| Number of animals | | | Number of animals | | |
| oxen | 123 | | oxen | 40 | |
| cows | 65 | | cows | 34 | |
| swine | 54 | | swine | 175 | |
| sheep | 363 | | | | |
| goats | 130 | | | | |
| asses | 49 | | asses | 9 | |
| | | | horses | 2 | |
| | | | | | |
| Reference | Act. Iv. III, n. 74, pp. 194-205, 209 | | Reference | Act. Lavr. II, n. 104, pp. 167-70 | |

2) 15th century

i. Radolibos

| Estimated population : 640 (1454/55), 671 (1478/79) | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Crops | | | | | |
| | 1454/55 | | 1478/79 | | |
| Product | Quantity | Cash / monetary value | Quantity | Modern equivalent | Cash / monetary value |
| wheat | 70 <i>kile</i> | 1750 | 15 <i>mudd</i> | 7,696.80 kg | 1800 |
| barley | 12 <i>kile</i> | 180 | 10 <i>mudd</i> | 5,131.20 kg | 660 |
| oats | 10 <i>kile</i> | 125 | 3 <i>mudd</i> | 1,539.36 kg | 150 |
| rye | 2 <i>kile</i> | 25 | 5 <i>mudd</i> | 2,565.60 kg | 300 |
| vetch | | 60 | 3 <i>mudd</i> | 1,539.36 kg | 300 |
| lentils | | 200 | | | 200 |
| beans | | 60 | | | 30 |
| cotton | | 100 | | | 250 |
| saffron | | 1800 | | | 2500 |
| flax | | 12 | | | |
| hay | | 40 | | | 200 |
| Other sources of revenue | | | | | |
| | 1454/55 | | 1478/79 | | |
| Source | Amount in <i>aspers</i> | Share of total revenue | Amount in <i>aspers</i> | Share of total revenue | |
| vines | 1900 | 29.65 % | 4000 (800 <i>medre</i>) | 43.78 % | |
| walnuts / almonds | 470 | 7.33 % | 210 | 2.29 % | |
| beehives | 60 | 0.93 % | 200 | 2.18 % | |
| fair | 700 | 10.92 % | 800 | 8.75 % | |
| swine | 20 | 0.31 % | 60 | 0.65 % | |
| sheep | | | 60 | 0.65 % | |
| mulberries | 50 | 0.78 % | 100 | 1.09 % | |
| pottery | 27 | 0.42 % | 23 | 0.25 % | |
| veg. garden | 20 | 0.31 % | | | |
| accorns | | | 160 | 1.75 % | |
| pasturage | | | 30 | 0.32 % | |
| charge on weddings / fines | 110 | 1.71 % | 200 | 2.18 % | |
| <i>ispençe / kulluk</i> | 3049 | 45.59 % | 3293 | 36.04 % | |
| Total | 6406 | 100 % | 9136 | 100 % | |

ii. Doxompous

| Estimated Population : 519 (1454/55), 463 (1478/79) | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Crops | | | | | |
| | 1454/55 | | 1478/79 | | |
| Product | Quantity | Cash / monetary value | Quantity | Modern equivalent | Cash / monetary value |
| wheat | 50 <i>kile</i> | 1250 | 12 <i>mudd</i> | 6,157.44 kg | 1440 |
| barley | 20 <i>kile</i> | 300 | 5 <i>mudd</i> | 2,565.60 kg | 300 |
| oats | 10 <i>kile</i> | 125 | 4 <i>mudd</i> | 2,052.48 kg | 150 |
| rye | | | | | 20 |
| vetch | | 15 | 8 <i>kile</i> | 205.24 kg | 40 |
| lentils | | 14 | | | |
| cotton | | 400 | | | 200 |
| saffron | | 700 | | | 700 |
| Other sources of revenue | | | | | |
| | 1454/55 | | 1478/79 | | |
| Source | Amount in <i>aspers</i> | Share of total revenue | Amount in <i>aspers</i> | Share of total revenue | |
| vines | 2000 | 18.88 % | 5000 (1000 <i>medre</i>) | 31.91 % | |
| beehives | 25 | 0.23 % | 20 | 0.12 % | |
| fair | 300 | 2.83 % | 500 | 3.19 % | |
| swine | 55 | 0.51 % | 45 | 0.28 % | |
| veg. garden | 50 | 0.47 % | | | |
| fishing | 5500 | 51.94 % | 7000 | 44.67 % | |
| ? | | | 600 | 3.82 % | |
| ? | | | 110 | 0.70 % | |
| charge on weddings / fines | 200 | 1.88 % | 100 | 0.63 % | |
| <i>ispençe / kulluk</i> | 2458 | 23.21 % | 2292 | 14.62 % | |
| Total | 10588 | 100 % | 15667 | 100 % | |

Appendix

Contents

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Nefs-i Siroz | TTD-3, 156-73, 183, 316-17. TTD-7, 220-37, 246, 348. |
| Nefs-i Zihne | TTD-3, 422-34. TTD-7, 114-22. |
| Kariye-i Hrisopoli | TTD-7, 217-18. |

Note on facsimiles: facsimiles of the original text are provided at the end of the volume. The order of the facsimiles corresponds to the text as it is edited here (first the TTD-3 and TTD-7 section on Serres, then both registers' sections on Zichna, finally the pages of TTD-7 about Chrysoupolis). Nevertheless, the facsimiles are arranged in accordance to the Arabic model of pagination, so they have to be read from back to front.

Note on transcription: the system of transcription that is used in editing these texts is a simplified one based on the modern Turkish alphabet following the *New Redhouse Dictionnary*. Long phrases are accompanied by their translation, while single words and small phrases are translated in the accompanying glossary.

TTD-3

[p. 156]

Vilayet-i Siroz

3 geçim, 25 cebelü, 2 çadır, 1 gönlük, 2 tenketür

Hasha-i subaşı Doğan Kürtçü

‘an kıst-i bazar, hisse: 15000

niyabet-i şehir: 17400

niyabet-i vilayet: 1100

monopoliye: 12300

agras-i hergele: 2000

nefs-i Siroz

hasa: 3 eşcar: 75; 1 asiyab, viran; 1 bağ, viran;

Müslimân-i şehir-i Siroz

1) imam Mahmud; 2) müezzin İbrahim; 3) Sünkür Lala; 4) Mevlana Yonus; 5) Yusuf veled-i Bilekçe; 6) Musa debbağ; 7) Ali birader-i o; 8) Mustafa Keykad; 9) Mustafa veled-i Keykad; 10) Küçük; 11) Halil; 12) Mustafa Siyah; 13) Yusuf muytab; 14) İnebeği veled-i Kalkal; 15) imam Kasım; 16) müezzin İliyas; 17) Abdurrahman; 18) Ali sarraç; 19) Tursun sarraç; 20) Yusuf sarraç; 21) Sünkür sarraç; 22) Aydın hayyat; 23) Mustafa hayyat; 24) Şahin çerçi; 25) Saruca hallaç; 26) İliyas Çalik; 27) Şahmalik tir-gir; 28) İliyas bakkal; 29) İsmail bakkal; 30) Ali Karamanı; 31) Behadir hayyat; 32) Hızır muytab; 33) Doğan tuzcu; 34) Tata Mehmedi; 35) Ömer mutaf; 36) ... kireççi; 37) Kasım çulah; 38) Mahmud papuççu; 39) Ahmed birader-i Paşa; 40) Hacı tir-gir; 41) Hacı Seydi; 42) Musa çilin-gir;

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1) Timurhan; 2) İskender veled-i Yakub; 3) Yahya; 4) Yakub hayyat; 5) Paşayiğit veled-i Sünkür; 6) Musa bakkal; 7) Hızır sakka; 8) Atmaca azade-i Mahmud; 9) imam Mehmedi; 10) müezzin Geybi; 11) Ali sabunu; 12) Mustafa helvalı; 13) Hisarlı sabunu; 14) Mehmed hayyat; 15) Yusuf sarraç; 16) Musa dellal; 17) Zaganos nalband; 18) Mehmed iklikçi; 19) Sufi Yusuf; 20) Bayezid muze-duz; 21) Kaya kazzaz; 22) Karagöz papuççu; 23) İnebeği durud-ger; 24) Ali dellal; 25) Davud; 26) Durmuş; 27) Şirmerd; 28) Şirmerd kamhacı; 29) Hoşkadem; 30) İliyas yuvacı; 31) Osman çulah; 32) Veli veled-i Emirhan; 33) Zaganos hallaç; 34) İsa Küçük; 35) Yusuf Melkurserh; 36) Sünkür; 37) Zaganos; 38) Doğan kettancı; 39) Saruca ahriyan; 40) İsmail; 41) İbrahim veled-i Mahmud; 42) Hızır naib; 43) Resul veled-i hasırcı; 44) Yahşi çulah; 45) Bayramlı veled-i Bazarlı; 46) Mahmud; 47) Nesuh sarraç; 48) Timurtaş hayyat; 49) Yusuf Karamanı; 50) Hasan veled-i Menteşe; 51) İbrahim astarcı; 52) Mehmed hayyat; 53) Hasan helvalı; 54) Yohta hayyat; 55) Mehmedi veled-i Tarla; 56) Hızır veled-i sakka; 57) Ahmed sarraç; 58) Mehmedi Ayinedar; 59) imam İliyas; 60) Ramazan; 61) Tanrıvermiş; 62) Mahmud hayyat; 63) Kemal Sofyalı; 64) Ali veled-i Şahin; 65) Yayıçşah; 66) Mehmedi külâh-duz; 67) Hızır veled-i Hacı; 68) Zaganos Hacı; 69) Yusuf Arnavud; 70) İnebeği Yürük; 71) Şirmerd nalband; 72) Osman kalaycı; 73) Bali sabunu; 74) Hacı Kasım; 75) imam Sulhaddin; 76) müezzin Halil; 77) Ahmed kavaf; 78) Hacı papuççu;

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1) Mehmedi ipekçi; 2) Mustafa kazzaz; 3) Mehmedi; 4) Ahmed Hacı; 5) Mehmedi Akhisarı; 6) Hamza veled-i Kalkal; 7) Mehmedi Piyade; 8) Mustafa veled-i Hızır; 9) Hacı Eyüb; 10) Atmaca işkaf; 11) Yakub papuççu; 12) Mehmedi hammal; 13) Hızır Bali; 14) Mustafa skembeci; 15) Tanrıvermiş Ağa; 16) Aydın papuççu; 17) Hızır Hacı; 18) Hacı

Hamza; 19) tuzcu Hamza; 20) Yusuf kazzaz; 21) Yusuf; 22) Mustafa tacir; 23) Hamza tacir; 24) İliyas hayyat; 25) Velieddin Acem; 26) Hisarlu papuçu; 27) Yiğen başmakçı; 28) Mustafa durud-ger; 29) Yusuf papuçu; 30) Hamza muze-düz; 31) Sufi Doğan; 32) Bayezid papuçu; 33) İnebeği ipekçi; 34) Ali Sersem; 35) İbrahim Siyah; 36) Umur Nevgirli; 37) İshak hayyat; 38) Mustafa veled-i Masud; 39) İbrahim kalaycı; 40) Ali Siyah; 41) İbrahim tacir; 42) Yusuf külâh-duz; 43) Hacı külâh-duz; 44) Lütfi külâh-duz; 45) Ali Arab; 46) İsa külâh-duz; 47) Yusuf serbetçi; 48) İbrahim nalband; 49) Seydi papuçu; 50) Hoşkadem Arab; 51) Sinan Köseç; 52) Sinan Beyalmalı; 53) imam İvaz; 54) müezzin Salih; 55) Yusuf; 56) Mehmedi çerçi; 57) Ramazan takyeci; 58) Mehmed veled-i Emir; 59) nalband Ramazan; 60) Yusuf Yolcu; 61) Yavaz keçeci; 62) Hacı Yakub; 63) İbri sarraç; 64) Hamza paluzeci; 65) Hamza kerbansaray[cı ?]; 66) İliyas hallaç; 67) İliyas yazıcı; 68) Hızır Siyah; 69) Yusuf durud-ger; 70) Şaban hayyat; 71) Şirmerd hayyat; 72) Hasan işkaf; 73) Ali azade-i kadı; 74) Hamza; 75) Hamza sarraç; 76) İvaz Nökeri; 77) Hamza dellal; 78) İsa Bali;

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1) Durmuş; 2) Karagöz; 3) Mehmedi sarraç; 4) Aydın çulâh; 5) Yusuf ipekçi; 6) Ali; 7) Mübarek; 8) Hamza; 9) Evrenos; 10) Mahmud sabunu; 11) Hızır Nökeri; 12) imam Ahmed; 13) Yusuf müezzin; 14) Halil nan-pezi; 15) Hacı Ahmed; 16) Davud Areç; 17) Mehmedi aşçı; 18) Şahin; 19) Hacı Mahmud; 20) Canpaşa; 21) Mehmedi Arab; 22) Abu Sinan; 23) Tanrıvermiş; 24) İbrahim boyacı; 25) Sadik palan-duz; 26) Bazarlu ?; 27) Lütfi kuyumcu; 28) Mehmedi veled-i Halil; 29) Ahmed Çaltık; 30) Mevlana dükkâdar; 31) Seydi Ahmed; 32) Hamza nemet-ger; 33) Hızır börekçi; 34) Sinkür kepezci; 35) Süleyman papuçu; 36) Tursun hallaç; 37) Bali kepek-pezi; 38) Ömer muytab; 39) İliyas dellak; 40)

Mehmedi veled-i Hacı Ahmed; 41) imam Hacı; 42) müezzin Ali; 43) Mehmedi veled-i Doğan; 44) Karaca Ahriyan; 45) Süleyman dükkândar; 46) Hacı Süleyman; 47) Hacı Kasım; 48) Hüseyin muytab; 49) Süleyman dükkândar; 50) Mustafa hayyat; 51) Doyran; 52) Hamza hayyat; 53) Doğan arabacı; 54) Bedreddin hayyat; 55) İyas bakkal; 56) Mehmedi; 57) Hızır muytab; 58) Turahan dellal; 59) Hamza börekçi; 60) Saruca muze-düz; 61) Ahmed külâh-duz; 62) Firus bakkal; 63) Karaca nan-peş; 64) İsmail papuççu; 65) İliyas çulâh; 66) Hasan Kör; 67) Hamza çulâh; 68) İshak kazzaz; 69) imam Hasan; 70) müezzin Hüseyin; 71) Ömer tuccar; 72) Turah işkaf; 73) Sinan külâh-duz; 74) Sinan hayyat; 75) Nesuh hayyat; 76) Hacı ahen-ger; 77) Ahmed veled-i kepezci; 78) Yahşi külâh-duz;

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1) Hacı keş-ger; 2) Ali keş-ger; 3) Hamza keş-ger; 4) Yusuf çulâh; 5) Yusuf hayyat; 6) Mustafa; 7) Hacı dellak; 8) Saruca hayyat; 9) Ali; 10) Mehmedi mutav; 11) İsa takyeci; 12) Mehmedi sekkakı; 13) Mehmedi işkaf; 14) Hamza bıçakçı; 15) Ali sekkakı; 16) Mehmedi hayyat; 17) Mustafa hayyat; 18) Ahmed hayyat; 19) Hacı tacir; 20) Mustafa dellak; 21) imam Ali; 22) müezzin Hasan; 23) Ali külâh-duz; 24) Hacı Hüseyin; 25) Hacı Mükbil; 26) Hamza börekçi; 27) Hızır üsküfçü; 28) Abdurrahman boyacı; 29) Paşayığit debbağ; 30) Ali debbağ; 31) Veli papuççu; 32) Mustafa debbağ; 33) Yakub; 34) İbrahim hallaç; 35) Hızır hayyat; 36) Tanrıvermiş Sagır; 37) Süleyman hallaç; 38) Zaganos Hacı; 39) İnehoca Kulagöz; 40) İbrahim Hacı; 41) Ahmed; 42) Hamza debbağ; 43) Yahya kabacı; 44) Mehmedi veled-i Ali; 45) Ramazan veled-i Ali; 46) imam Mehmedi; 47) Tursun Hoca; 48) Ali hayyat; 49) Sinan hayyat; 50) Hacı yağcı; 51) Mehmedi Bucek; 52) Zaganos bazirgân; 53) Yakub buzcu; 54) Mehmedi Yamak; 55) Hızır kepezci; 56) Yahşi

kepek-pez; 57) İbrahim kepek-pez; 58) Mehmedi veled-i Arab; 59) Ali nan-pez; 60) Hacı Kör; 61) Mehmedi kepezci; 62) Şirmerd kepezci; 63) Hamza hallaç; 64) Hacı eskici; 65) Sufi hayyat; 66) Hamza Arnavud; 67) Hamza; 68) Velieddin Hacı; 69) Dilsiz; 70) Kasım veled-i kepezci; 71) Atmaca; 72) Bayezid etmekci; 73) Yusuf veled-i Hoşkadem; 74) İliyas kepezci; 75) Süleyman nalband; 76) Balaban kepezci; 77) Mehmedi Küçük; 78) imam Hasan;

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1) müezzin Arab; 2) börekçi Sola; 3) Hasan birader-i o; 4) Behadir Müsellem; 5) İshak kazzaz; 6) Hızır işkaf; 7) Ali birader-i Hızır; 8) Mahmud keş-ger; 9) Ahmed kalkancı; 10) Ahi kürkçü; 11) Lütfi; 12) Küçük Ali; 13) Arab nan-pez; 14) Mehmedi iyici; 15) Ali somuncu; 16) Kürde bıçakçı; 17) Paşayiğit iyici; 18) Ahmed çulah; 19) Ali Kulak; 20) İshak surnazen; 21) İbri daulcu; 22) Lütfañd Hoca; 23) imam Davud; 24) müezzin Ahmed; 25) Ahmed veled-i Ağulpaşa; 26) Mustafa birader-i Kadı; 27) Hacı Hasan; 28) Hızır birader-i Bayezid; 29) Mübarek; 30) Yakub sarraç; 31) Hızır nalband; 32) İsa Bali; 33) Hasan veled-i Mehmed; 34) Ahi İliyas; 35) Doğan kını; 36) Hızır kepezci; 37) Şirmerd; 38) Yahşi sabunu; 39) Hamza; 40) Siyah Bayram; 41) imam Süleyman; 42) Mahmud kavaf; 43) Mehmedi veled-i Hacı; 44) Mehmedi debbağ; 45) Sevinç; 46) Kork Hamza; 47) Yusuf Lus; 48) Siyah Ahmed; 49) Ali kepek-pez; 50) Şirmerd azade-i Nüsret; 51) Hamza lökümacı; 52) Hasan; 53) Sufi Hızır; 54) Sufi Hacı; 55) Mustafa serbetçi; 56) Sinan kını; 57) İnebeğî veled-i Zaganos; 58) Katil kazancı; 59) Nesuh kazancı; 60) Hacı külâh-duz; 61) Mehmedi hayyat; 62) Atmaca azade-i Timur; 63) Yusuf dellak; 64) Sinan veled-i Ali Paşa; 65) Yakub; 66) Tursun debbağ; 67) Ahmed çulah; 68) imam Hamza; 69) müezzin Ali; 70) Mehmedi Tatar; 71) İnehoca bac-dar; 72) Yusuf hamamcı; 73) İsa Bali; 74) Barak

veled-i Yusuf; 75) İnebeği veled-i İlyas; 76) Tanrıvermiş; 77) Hasan veled-i İsmail; 78)
Kasım birader-i Hasan;

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1) Ali veled-i Karaca; 2) Adhem veled-i Yusuf; 3) Ramazan veled-i Halil; 4) Haydar veled-i İlyas; 5) Firus; 6) Ahmed kısaççı; 7) Hacı Brusalı; 8) Oruç veled-i Çoksı; 9) Ge[n]ç çeküççü; 10) İsmail Budur; 11) Abdullah; 12) Yakub; 13) Yusuf kavaf; 14) Karagöz bazirgân; 15) Zaganos; 16) Karagöz Ahriyan; 17) İskender Tavezan; 18) Yakub Steber; 19) Hızır Eflak; 20) Hoşkadem; 21) Saruca; 22) Yahşi çulah; 23) Umur Divane; 24) Karaca çulah; 25) Hacı çulah; 26) Yusuf Divane; 27) Ali kepezci; 28) Ahmed veled-i Dede; 29) Süleyman müezzin; 30) imam Cemal; 31) Hasan müezzin; 32) Atmaca papuççu; 33) Bekir siraccı; 34) Musa papuççu; 35) İsa eskici; 36) Hacı Musa; 37) Ali Mütevelli; 38) İlyas debbağ; 39) Katagölü debbağ; 40) Bali papuççu; 41) Şahin; 42) Ali helvalı; 43) Halil birader-i Firhad; 44) İbri Şeytan; 45) Mehmedi Çaltık; 46) Hamza debbağ; 47) Yusuf Tunuzlu[lu]; 48) Mahmud kuyumcu; 49) Yusuf şimşir-ger; 50) Karagöz çıkırıççı; 51) Acmen kazancı; 52) Behsayiş muytab; 53) Veli Hacı hallaç; 54) Hamza işkâf; 55) Hamza papuççu; 56) Hacı papuççu; 57) Ahmed gulam-i Sinan; 58) Uruç veled-i Sinan; 59) İsa dellâk; 60) Taliban kazancı; 61) Yonus debbağ; 62) bive Nergis; 63) bive Canı; 64) bive Mara zen-i bac-dar; 65) bive Nergis; 66) bive Beloslava; 67) bive Selved zen-i Saruca; 68) bive Gülbahar; 69) bive Mercan zen-i imam; 70) bive Fatma; 71) bive Alime zen-i magaza[cı]; 72) bive Negrıs mader-i Ahmed; 73) bive Margeta; 74) bive Turpaşa; 75) bive Zeyneb; 76) bive Turpaşa zen-i Mehmedi; 77) bive ... [zen-i] Asilpaşa; 78) bive Rahime zen-i Koca;

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1) bive ...?; 2) bive... [zen-i] Meriç; 3) bive Ayşe mader-i Ali; 4) Fatma mader-i Ömer; 5) bive ... [zen-i] Uruç; 6) bive Melek; 7) bive Devlet; 8) bive Fatma zen-i Reiş; 9) bive Devlet; 10) bive Fatma; 11) bive Ayşe; 12) bive Hodi; 13) bive Gevder; 14) bive Gülcihan; 15) bive Nergis zen-i Hızır; 16) bive Devlet zen-i Hüseyin; 17) bive Nergis zen-i İbrahim; 18) bive Yanya (?) (Yelena?) zen-i Ali; 19) bive Zeyneb; 20) bive Gülsene; 21) bive ... [zen-i] Şahin; 22) bive Ayşe; 23) bive Fatma zen-i Hoşkadem; 24) bive Benefşe mader-i Sakri; 25) bive Fatma; 26) bive Nergis zen-i Mahmud; 27) bive Sabha; 28) bive Nergis; 29) bive Devlet; 30) bive Benefşe; 31) bive Ayşe zen-i Saruca; 32) bive Melek ayrı-i Siyah; 33) bive Paşahatun; 34) bive Fatma; 35) bive Gülçiçek; 36) bive Fatma; 37) bive Melek; 38) bive Ayşe zen-i Doğan; 39) bive Nevruz; 40) bive Ayşe; 41) bive Fatma zen-i Resul; 42) bive Devlet; 43) bive Fatma; 44) bive Hadice; 45) bive Nergis; 46) bive Devlet zen-i Atmaca; 47) bive Hadice [zen-i] Atmaca; 48) bive Ayşe; 49) bive Nevruz; 50) bive Fatma; 51) bive Azize; 52) bive Nergis zen-i Mehmedi; 53) bive Fatma zen-i Aydın;

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1) Papas Kiryaki; 2) Yani veled-i Çikandil; 3) Komnino birader-i o; 4) Sinadino Merisko (Mersifo); 5) Paladyano; 6) Manol Dobri; 7) Manol Sinadino; 8) Kosta birader-i o; 9) Galatelo birader-i Kosta; 10) Mesagrino Merisko (Mersifo); 11) Miho veled-i Mihal; 12) Dimo veled-i Gordana;

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1) Hristos Armen; 2) Yani veled-i Truvil; 3) Yovan Çopan; 4) Yani İskeda; 5) Palatyani; 6) Yani Panulo; 7) Angelos Kalohrid; 8) Duka Monomah; 9) Tornik Agalo; 10) Sinadino Vasiliko; 11) Duka veled-i Toma; 12) Papas [-i kilise-i] Ayo Dimitri; 13) Dingo veled-i

Aleksi; 14) Dimos Modinas; 15) Dingo veled-i Andreyas; 16) Dingos Varila; 17) Todoris; 18) Dimitri Petriç; 19) Sinadino Kaloyana; 20) Andraniko Sinadino; 21) Veludi Arhondi; 22) Asimas Luvara; 23) Nikola Uzgur; 24) Manol birader-i o; 25) Manol veled-i Yana; 26) Yana veled-i o; 27) Yorg Uzguril; 28) Yorg Zoryan; 29) Todor birader-i o; 30) Yorg Halasti; 31) Nesa veled-i Paskul; 32) Dimitri Loncar (?); 33) Mihal Analosto; 34) Manol birader-i o; 35) Todor veled-i Yani; 36) Dimitri damad-i Marino; 37) Kosta Kaliga; 38) Yani veled-i Kapsiti; 39) Manol veled-i o; 40) İspilyod birader-i Yani; 41) Manol Marin; 42) And[r]aniko Sila; 43) Manol veled-i Manomah; 44) Kosta veled-i o; 45) İksato Zoryan; 46) İstamad Angelo; 47) İspilyod Sofyano; 48) Todoris Çamo; 49) Agalo Uzguril; 50) Yani birader-i o; 51) Dimitri Zeridi; 52) Yani veled-i Varlid; 53) Papas Yorg; 54) Dimitri Kuropalad; 55) Kosta papuççu; 56) İspilyot çulah; 57) Protocan veled-i o; 58) Glava birader-i o; 59) Sinadino veled-i Papa Todor; 60) Hristodul Makelar; 61) Manol veled-i Pap[a]; 62) Kiryakos Panayot; 63) Kefala Yeragiç; 64) Dimo birader-i o; 65) Yorg birader-i Dimo; 66) Dimo veled-i Andrea; 67) Fotino İksarhilo; 68) Todoris Fotino; 69) Dimo veled-i Rondaki; 70) Yorg Yaniçopulo; 71) Yani veled-i Glava; 72) Hristodul birader-i o; 73) Dimos Ayra; 74) Dimos Makrino; 75) Yorg Makrino; 76) Petros nan-pezi; 77) Todoris Krasaki; 78) Yorg Manol;

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1) Aleksi Yoklo; 2) İspilyod Rondaki; 3) Dimos Kosta; 4) Yorg birader-i Aleksi; 5) Mihal Poygo; 6) Kosta etmekçi; 7) Kosta Adrahta; 8) Mihal Kuropalad; 9) Sinadino İspilyod; 10) Yorg Metaksa; 11) Todor veled-i İspilyod; 12) Yorg birader-i Todor; 13) İspilyod mimarı; 14) Yorgilas Hamilo; 15) Sinadino Hamilo; 16) Papas Keramesina; 17) Manol Argiro; 18) Dimos Doksara; 19) Komnino Todora; 20) Todor Kalokota; 21) Kefala

Siropulo; 22) Aleksi Maro; 23) Bratan veled-i o; 24) Papas Komnano; 25) Yani veled-i İspilyod; 26) Yorg veled-i Papa; 27) Yani Sirali; 28) Todor veled-i Uzguropulo; 29) Yorg veled-i Todor; 30) Manomah veled-i Andrea; 31) Ko[n]tostefano Kalohorid; 32) Mantos Logari; 33) Yani veled-i Şapşino; 34) Toma veled-i Siropulo; 35) Aleksi veled-i Deyani; 36) Malik birader-i o; 37) Yorg birader-i mezkur; 38) Todoris Çola; 39) Yorg Hudafto (?); 40) Manol veled-i Muta; 41) Yani veled-i Veryora; 42) Yorg veled-i Yani; 43) Manol İstefan; 44) Uraniya veled-i Duka; 45) Komnino veled-i Duka; 46) Toma veled-i Mlado; 47) Yani veled-i Mavrigelo; 48) Manol çenger; 49) Mantos veled-i Singelo; 50) Yorg İskero; 51) Mihal Laskari; 52) Todor veled-i Kalisti; 53) Yorg Papila; 54) Manol veled-i Viran; 55) Yani veled-i o; 56) Andrey a veled-i Merisko (Mersifo); 57) Sinadino Masura; 58) Dimitri Teknudo; 59) Manol Slavilka; 60) Andrey a veled-i Merisko (Mersifo); 61) Papas Plumi; 62) Papas Apostol; 63) Manol Argiropulo; 64) Sarandino Manol; 65) Manol Marut; 66) Kalonid veled-i Todor; 67) Luka veled-i Mlado; 68) Sinadino Todor; 69) Dimitri veled-i Petro; 70) İspilyod Yana; 71) Manol Uskorila; 72) Manol Kalohor[it]; 73) Glanula Manol; 74) Yorg Gonata; 75) İspilyod Kuveli; 76) Papas Yani; 77) Dimitri birader-i Yorg; 78) Yani veled-i Melisino;

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1) Simo veled-i Papa Aleksi; 2) Todoris veled-i Papa Aleksi; 3) Dimidro Yaluridi; 4) Dimitri veled-i Argiro; 5) Yorg veled-i Gerilo; 6) Mihal veled-i ?; 7) Yorg Melisino; 8) Dingo veled-i Plati; 9) Dimitri Kaligo; 10) Yorg Maronid; 11) Manol birader-i o; 12) Dingo birader-i o; 13) Yorg Maronid; 14) Papas Aleksi; 15) Yani veled-i Simo; 16) Uzgur birader-i o; 17) Papas Dimitar; 18) Kiryakos Kolovro; 19) Kosta Metaksa; 20) Sinadino Yaluri; 21) Mihal ?; 22) Manomah Argiropulo; 23) Aleksi veled-i o; 24) Papas Yorg; 25)

Dimitri Pardomat; 26) Toma veled-i Trahodino; 27) Angelo Kuropalad; 28) Yani veled-i Angelo; 29) İstayko damad-i Medrayo; 30) Manol Siropulo; 31) Manol İstefa; 32) Sinadino birader-i o; 33) Dingo birader-i o; 34) İksatopulo İskana; 35) Androniko Katirga; 36) Kaloyir veled-i o; 37) Manol Miryan (?); 38) Muzal birader-i o; 39) Dingo İksatopulo; 40) Toma birader-i o; 41) Dimo veled-i Manol; 42) Todor veled-i Manol; 43) Filomat Krevila (?) (Kerula?); 44) Yorg Brahoti; 45) Glavat (?) Krevila (?) (Kerula?); 46) Manol İvlaho; 47) Dimo veled-i Gunar; 48) Yorg veled-i Papa İvlah; 49) Manos Papa Todor; 50) Tomas Fragopulo; 51) Prisko Sina; 52) Yani veled-i Kondanikola; 53) Yenimata; 54) Yorg veled-i Kuvali; 55) Yorg İpolito (?); 56) Kanaki veled-i Kaloyana; 57) Prapas veled-i Labrino; 58) Yani veled-i Paskano (?); 59) Manol Mavroyan; 60) Dimo Anoyat; 61) Mihal İfragopulo; 62) Manol veled-i o; 63) Yani birader-i o; 64) Hrisanid; 65) Aleksi veled-i Yokara; 66) Yani veled-i Filomad; 67) Manol Gunar; 68) Todoris; 69) Mihal Vdomal; 70) Andreyta Tatar; 71) Yorg Hacı; 72) Kosta veled-i Hacı; 73) İpolito (?) veled-i Boyo; 74) Yorg veled-i o; 75) Yorg veled-i Kalogrit; 76) Apostol Lazar; 77) Yorg Rondak; 78) İstefan çenger; 79) Yani veled-i İstefan; 80) Toma veled-i Papa Manto; 81) Tomas Geropulo (Gripulo?); 82) Yorg Toma; 83) Dimos Kiromah; 84) İspilyod Kufo;

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1) Yani veled-i Vahto (Vaçyo?); 2) Dingo Padulo; 3) Dimo veled-i Dingo; 4) İspilyod Asobro; 5) Yani birader-i o; 6) Apostol İrkomid; 7) Manol veled-i o; 8) Andreyta veled-i Papa Yani; 9) Yorg veled-i Todor; 10) Andraniko Yorg; 11) Argiro Bozimir; 12) Hristodul Hrikomata (?); 13) Todor birader-i o; 14) Argiro Kalohorino; 15) Toma veled-i Melisino; 16) Vartikopulo Manol; 17) İspilyod Dobro; 18) Bradiyot Toma; 19) Aleksi veled-i Kalamoto; 20) Yorg birader-i o; 21) Sirmarino Duka; 22) Duka Kurtik; 23) Dimos

Mitras; 24) Kosta veled-i Prapo; 25) İvdak (?) Muzati; 26) Yovan kepezci; 27) Dingo veled-i Krivano; 28) Manol Klapulo (Velapulo); 29) Apatrino (Ayatrino) Kuman; 30) Kosta veled-i Mirako; 31) Yani veled-i Rako (?); 32) Atanas Rondaki; 33) Toma Karpati; 34) Yorg Pisrot (?); 35) Manol Matesi; 36) Nikola veled-i Mardakli; 37) Yorg birader-i o; 38) Yani veled-i ?; 39) Dimos Kaloyur; 40) Kavasila Grbi (?); 41) Foka veled-i Kanaki; 42) Yani veled-i Vurgari; 43) Yorg veled-i Kostanda; 44) Apostol Yor[g]; 45) Aleksî birader-i Yorg; 46) İstasino Argiro; 47) Dingo birader-i o; 48) İspilyod veled-i Lukano; 49) Panayot Laluha; 50) Kiryakos Stefa; 51) Dimos Ordivil (?); 52) Yorg Vraka; 53) Yani Dokşara; 54) Dimos Plumi; 55) Kosta Maryano; 56) Yani birader-i o; 57) İksatos ?; 58) Andreyâ veled-i Filomat; 59) İspilyod Grilo; 60) Andraniko veled-i Atanas; 61) Kuman Patrik; 62) Toma veled-i Mavrita; 63) Kosta Simodyar; 64) Yorg Mangepa; 65) Todor veled-i Gura; 66) Dîmo veled-i Hrakomata; 67) Todor veled-i Meyari; 68) Kiryako veled-i Prapo; 69) Dimos Bozidar; 70) Manol birader-i Dîmo; 71) Dîmo veled-i Toloyid; 72) Yorg veled-i Simita; 73) Dimitar birader-i o; 74) Manol birader-i Dimitar; 75) Kiryako veled-i Ledega sarraç; 76) Yorg birader-i o; 77) Panayod birader-i o; 78) Yorg Pedavita; [p. 168]

1) Yorg Pomalut; 2) Lanbrino; 3) Yani veled-i Yoglavo; 4) Marista Poyo; 5) Dimitar veled-i Varyo; 6) Kosta veled-i Kalovina; 7) Yani veled-i Atanas; 8) Papas Yorg; 9) Todor veled-i Makç (?); 10) Moskoplu Margarid; 11) Atanas Kapla; 12) Yani Melnikot; 13) Nikola Finkar (Fanfar?); 14) İspilyod Kaloyana; 15) Dingo veled-i Lanbrino; 16) Nikola Hreka; 17) Yani Kromid; 18) Yanis Gavala; 19) Dimos Kokal; 20) Apostol İvrana; 21) İspilyod birader-i o; 22) Andreyâ veled-i Paskul; 23) Dimitar Paskul; 24) Mihal Pangalo; 25) Yani Rago; 26) İspilyod Kaloyana; 27) Dimitar veled-i Padila; 28) Tarsa (?) Gerilo;

29) Manol Lahana; 30) Yorg birader-i o; 31) Mihal Gerilo; 32) Mihal Milino; 33) Manol veled-i Pangalo; 34) İksatyod Yani; 35) Miho Dramino; 36) Yorg Hancekri; 37) Yorg Premerid; 38) Dimitri Paskal; 39) Logaras Hemes (?); 40) Dimo veled-i Musko; 41) Dimo veled-i Kolidi; 42) Yorg Rago; 43) Dimitar birader-i o; 44) Yorg Pigoti; 45) Yani veled-i Armen; 46) Manol veled-i Papa Dimitar; 47) Kosta veled-i Alamano; 48) Panayot veled-i Kosta; 49) Dimitar veled-i Burgari; 50) Yorg birader-i Dimitar; 51) Todor veled-i Luzvano; 52) Anastas Vasil; 53) Manol Damaskino; 54) Kosta Burgari; 55) Todoris Burgari; 56) Mihal Arseni; 57) Kosta Uryan (?); 58) Yorg İpsoma; 59) Sinadino Mavrita; 60) Todor veled-i Kiryako; 61) Yorg Kiryako; 62) Foka Mavrudi; 63) Kosta Argir; 64) Manol Modino; 65) Dimos Kondilar; 66) Manol veled-i Yani; 67) Trendafila Alaman; 68) Yani veled-i Mavrofor; 69) Mavrudi çulah; 70) Yani Makelar; 71) Dimo veled-i Alaman; 72) Kosta ?; 73) Mihal Piskifita; 74) Drosino Çukala; 75) Kaluta Mami; 76) Yani veled-i Yoni; 77) Yani veled-i Verber (?); 78) Sinadino Sarandini;

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1) Miho Çamadrin; 2) Sinadino İzrabi; 3) Apostol Andreyas; 4) İspilyod Andreyas; 5) Tornik; 6) Bogoslav Bena; 7) Kosta Hrekomita; 8) Glava Milas; 9) Musko Seridi; 10) Malik Hamindil; 11) Angelos Mikrapolid; 12) Manol; 13) Manol İgravakalo; 14) Nikola damad-i o; 15) Argiros; 16) Şirmerd veled-i Kaplo; 17) Mihal Hotilo; 18) Yorg papuççu; 19) Mavri Duka; 20) Vardi Hotilo; 21) Mihal Ververi; 22) Dimos İstefan; 23) Manol Malik; 24) Gavala veled-i Kokinoklo; 25) Sirigo veled-i Marino; 26) Papas Dingo; 27) Dimo veled-i Galaplu; 28) Yani veled-i Şirmerd; 29) Yorg veled-i Dimitar; 30) İstamad Koval; 31) Dingo veled-i o; 32) Mihal Halkomata; 33) Kosta veled-i Kovala; 34) Manol İskorda; 35) İspilyod Melnikot; 36) Yani Moranid; 37) Mihal Alevra; 38) Yani birader-i o;

39) Matoy (?) Plumi; 40) Papas Dimitar; 41) Yani veled-i Arhangel; 42) Yorg birader-i Yani; 43) Dimitar veled-i Zoryan; 44) Dimo veled-i İspilyod; 45) Hristodul Brazidal; 46) Yani Sesangit; 47) Zagorino birader-i o; 48) Kiryak veled-i Dingo; 49) Yorg birader-i o; 50) Totos Kabur; 51) Komnano; 52) Yani Katakalo; 53) İspi[l]yod Premyot; 54) Manol veled-i o; 55) Yanī ?; 56) Matos Panayod; 57) Nikola Bolid; 58) Tomas Belug; 59) Tomas Kiriç; 60) Yana Dokşara; 61) Manol Mirmica; 62) Papas Kremasto; 63) Papas Todor; 64) Papas Manol; 65) Yani veled-i Dimi[t]ri; 66) Dingos veled-i Krabava; 67) Manol Marino; 68) Filib Kerhan; 69) Todoris; 70) Dimos Kalita; 71) Manol Sinkür; 72) Yorg Kanakar; 73) Yorg Livadar; 74) Vasilikos; 75) Kosta Kastrino; 76) Kosta Turkoplu; 77) İstayko İvlah; 78) Yorg veled-i İftaho;

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1) Kiryakos çulah; 2) Yorg çulah; 3) Dingos çulah; 4) Kiryako Marino; 5) Mihal Miluta; 6) Yorg birader-i o; 7) bive Mara; 8) bive Yura; 9) bive Mara zen-i Nesuh; 10) bive Todora; 11) bive Todora [zen-i] Selaniki; 12) bive Kali; 13) bive Dobri [zen-i] İkseno; 14) bive Todora [zen-i] Zupano; 15) bive Mara duhter-i Zupano; 16) bive Mara zen-i Dimitar; 17) bive Yura [zen-i] Kanakar; 18) bive Mara Petudina; 19) bive Manola [zen-i] Tatar; 20) bive Maro [zen-i] Panayi; 21) bive Yura Kamalina; 22) bive Todora [zen-i] Barkar; 23) bive Matu[l]a [zen-i] Sigela; 24) bive Mara zen-i Palatyano; 25) bive Gulvana; 26) bive İlena zen-i Mengepsa; 27) bive Yura [zen-i] Mengepsa; 28) bive Yura [zen-i] Manesa; 29) bive ... [zen-i] Yani; 30) bive Todora; 31) bive Malamatina; 32) bive Maro; 33) bive Angelina; 34) bive ... duhter-i Plumi; 35) bive İlena zen-i Vatac; 36) bive Yura zen-i Yorg; 37) bive Marina [zen-i] Mihal; 38) bive Mara [zen-i] Alevra; 39) bive Dukena [zen-i] Marino; 40) bive Dukena [zen-i] Malik; 41) bive Tomayi; 42) bive İvdika; 43) bive Maro

[zen-i] Klapo; 44) bive Maro; 45) bive ... [zen-i] Marmarhino; 46) bive İksati; 47) bive İrina; 48) bive Todora [zen-i] Çukandil; 49) bive İspilyotisa; 50) bive Tomayi; 51) bive Varnikoplina; 52) bive İstamata; 53) bive Yura [zen-i] Kosta; 54) bive Mara [zen-i] Çiguni; 55) bive Todora [zen-i] Lazar; 56) bive Maro [zen-i] İspilyod; 57) bive Tomayi [zen-i] Şahin; 58) bive Yura [zen-i] Andreyas; 59) bive Marina [zen-i] Nikola; 60) bive Yura [zen-i] İspilyota; 61) bive Mara [zen-i] Varniki; 62) bive Maro [zen-i] Çavuş; 63) bive Yura zen-i Lapa; 64) bive Kali; 65) bive Maro; 66) bive Maro zen-i Vasil; 67) bive Glavena [zen-i] Sarandi; 68) bive Maro [zen-i] Nikola; 69) bive ... [zen-i] Dimitri Çamur; 70) bive Lurena [zen-i] Urmen; 71) bive Mara [zen-i] Arvanid; 72) bive İlena zen-i İpsoma; 73) bive Kali zen-i Yani; 74) bive Argiri; 75) bive Todora [zen-i] Lahana; 76) bive İspilyota; 77) bive Diyalehti; 78) bive Sinadino [zen-i] Hrameno;

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1) bive Vasiliki; 2) bive Fotini; 3) bive Anasta; 4) bive Kali; 5) bive Asimina; 6) bive Sinadini; 7) bive İfrosina; 8) bive Maro zen-i Çukandil; 9) bive Moskiti; 10) bive Mara zen-i Mavrita; 11) bive Yura [zen-i] Stefa; 12) bive İspilyota; 13) bive İspilyota [zen-i] Kuvara; 14) bive Todora; 15) bive Yura zen-i Simita; 16) bive Maro [zen-i] Kopana; 17) bive Yura [zen-i] Steya (?); 18) bive Maro zen-i Kaloyana; 19) bive İrina [zen-i] Simodiyar; 20) bive Mara [zen-i] Havado; 21) bive İzmarda [zen-i] Patrik; 22) bive Angelina [zen-i Mavrita; 23) bive ... [zen-i] Sinadino Lemargo; 24) bive İspilyota; 25) bive İksati [zen-i] Kostanda; 26) bive ... [zen-i] İvriyoti; 27) bive İlina; 28) bive Yura [zen-i] Lahuho; 29) bive Todora; 30) bive Mara [zen-i] Gudeli; 31) bive Komnani [zen-i] Plumi; 32) bive Mara [zen-i] Kapadoka; 33) bive Mara zen-i Varpat; 34) bive İvdika; 35) bive Kirana [zen-i] Manol; 36) bive Mara zen-i Perkino; 37) bive İspilyota; 38) bive İvdika

[zen-i] Muhla; 39) bive Hrisana [zen-i] Todor; 40) bive Palatini; 41) bive Kandila [zen-i] Godeni; 42) bive Ĭspilyota [zen-i] Kaluta; 43) bive Mara [zen-i] Ĭvlahot; 44) bive Mara; 45) bive Fostira; 46) bive Glavena [zen-i] Yorg; 47) bive Kali zen-i Foka; 48) bive Filina zen-i Papa Todor; 49) bive Ĭspilyota [zen-i] Vodokaki; 50) bive Marina zen-i Ĭstasino; 51) bive Mara; 52) bive Ĭrina; 53) bive Sinadini [zen-i] Ravandino; 54) bive Plaluniya; 55) bive Komnina; 56) bive Mara [zen-i] Bozidar; 57) bive Ĭvdika; 58) bive Mara zen-i Kokali; 59) bive Mara zen-i Mangap; 60) bive Ĭrina zen-i Labrino; 61) bive Ĭspilyota; 62) bive Ĭvdika; 63) bive Ĭksati; 64) bive Beluha; 65) bive Melisini; 66) bive Mara zen-i Manol; 67) bive Mara; 68) bive Todora; 69) bive Todora [zen-i] Gunar; 70) bive Maro zen-i Filomad; 71) bive Marina zen-i Kalovro (?); 72) bive Yuro [zen-i] Yaluri; 73) bive Mara zen-i Besamir; 74) bive Vasiliki; 75) bive Kamalina; 76) bive Argiri [zen-i] Çinçiri; 77) bive Yura [zen-i] Lako; 78) bive Mara zen-i Vidranina;

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1) bive Diha (?) [zen-i] Nikola; 2) bive Todora; 3) bive Mara [zen-i] Atila; 4) bive Vatacina; 5) bive Kali; 6) bive Anasto [zen-i] Marut; 7) bive Mara zen-i Megalyot; 8) bive Dimitro; 9) bive Angelina; 10) bive Ĭfrosina [zen-i] Petro; 11) bive Kali [zen-i] Metaksa; 12) bive Mara zen-i Ĭkseno; 13) bive Ĭrina [zen-i] Koman; 14) bive Sofiya; 15) bive Medrino; 16) bive Marina zen-i Angelo; 17) bive Ĭrina [zen-i] Ayumi; 18) bive Ĭzmarada; 19) bive Mara [zen-i] Dimitri; 20) bive Ĭlena zen-i Ĭstanisa; 21) bive Mavreta zen-i Yani; 22) bive Yura zen-i Ĭstefan; 23) bive Mara [zen-i] Mahraman; 24) bive Marina [zen-i] Manol; 25) bive Ĭvdika [zen-i] Pelekan; 26) bive Kali [zen-i] Kiryako; 27) bive Mara [zen-i] Kaloyur; 28) bive Mara zen-i Yela; 29) bive Ĭrina [zen-i] Voyvodi; 30) bive ... [zen-i] Duka; 31) bive Mara zen-i Aleksi; 32) bive Sinahrina [zen-i] Bratan; 33) bive Dukena

[zen-i] Kuropalad; 34) bive Angelina [zen-i] Andrey; 35) bive Mara; 36) bive Tomayi [zen-i] Saruhan; 37) bive İrina zen-i İstamad; 38) bive Kali; 39) bive Temiri zen-i Viro; 40) bive Maro zen-i Yorgilo; 41) bive İksati; 42) bive Kali zen-i Yorg; 43) bive İrina zen-i Prizeda (Priezda?); 44) bive Todora zen-i Yano; 45) bive Todora [zen-i] Filiba; 46) bive Mara zen-i Bragiç; 47) bive Mara; 48) bive Mara zen-i Papa; 49) bive İrina zen-i Prizeda (Priezda?); 50) bive Tomayi; 51) bive Todora [zen-i] İstefan; 52) bive Kali; 53) bive İrina zen-i Kaludi; 54) bive Yura [zen-i] Zaridi; 55) bive İfrosina [zen-i] Yorgila; 56) bive Kali zen-i Yani; 57) bive Sinadini [zen-i] Malkoça; 58) bive Florita; 59) bive Kali [zen-i] Simodiyar; 60) bive Hrusi [zen-i] Desila; 61) bive Kali; 62) bive İrina [zen-i] Hrisafo; 63) bive Yura; 64) bive Yura zen-i Karaca; 65) bive Yura; 66) bive Mara [zen-i] Arhondi; 67) bive İrina; 68) bive İlena [zen-i] Premarid; 69) bive Komnani [zen-i] Kir Mihal; 70) bive İlyad; 71) bive Truho; 72) bive Trifo zen-i Kaloyur; 73) bive Proskimilina; 74) bive Goneta; 75) bive ... [zen-i] Nikola Huta; 76) bive Todora; 77) bive Çurakena; 78) bive Komnani;

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1) bive Dukena; 2) bive ... [zen-i] Mikropolid; 3) bive Dukena zen-i Dimitar; 4) bive Margara; 5) bive Malamatina;

hınta: 10 kile, 250;

şa'ir: 3 kile, 45;

dühne: 4 kile, 50;

'öşr-i bostan: 70;

ispençe: 13628;

hane-i Müslim: 493 bive: 70

hane-i Gebr: 494 bive: 235 [the actual number is 492 *hane* and 233 *bive*]

hasıl: on dört bin kırk üç akça

bu haneden otuz altı papas'ın ellerinde hükmleri vardır kim subaşı olana ispençe vermeyeler deyü

[thirty-six priests out of these households have in their hands patents affirming their exemption from paying *ispençe* to whoever is *subaşı*]

el bakî hane 458

Azadegân der nefis-i şehir-i Siroz. Haraç ve sa'ir kanun ve ka'ide vermeyeler deyü.

Ellerinde merhumun hu[davendi]gârlar'dan tabeserahü ve sultanımız'dan ... (?) hükm-i hümayunları var. Bunlardır ki zikr olunur

[freed slaves in the city of Serres, they do not give *haraç* and other fees prescribed by law and custom. They have in their hands imperial edicts by the deceased rulers, may they rest in peace, as well as by our sultan. These they are who are mentioned (below)]:

Müslim: Mehmedi veled-i Manomah;

Gebrân: 1) Kiryazi veled-i Manomah; 2) Yani veled-i Diplovatac; 3) Yorg birader-i Yani; 4) Manol; 5) Mihal veled-i Manol; 6) Todor veled-i Manol;

Cema'an: hane-i Müslim 1, Gebr 6

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Evkaf-i mescid-i merhum mağfur Gazi Hudavendigâr tabeserahu ve celle hayr ve şanehu [pious endowments of the mosque of the deceased Gazi Hudavendigâr (Murad I) whose sins have been forgiven, may God exalt his glory, his excellence and honour, may he rest in peace]

El asıl ‘an cizye kim alırlar: fi sene 7200

1) Vazife-i hatib: ‘an cizye fi yevm 6, ‘an dükkân-res fi yevm 8, dekkakın 4 fi 10, asiyab viran 1;

2) Vazife-i imam: ‘an cizye fi yevm 4, yekûn fi sene al kâmile 1440;

3) Vazife-i müezzîn: ‘an cizye fi yevm 2, ‘an dükkân-res 2, yekûn fi sene 1440;

4) Vazife-i hafızân ve muarraf: ‘an cizye fi yevm 8, yekûn [fi] sene al kâmile 2880;

Manastir-i Midrapolid-i Siroz

1) bağ: kıt’a 3;

2) eşcar: 13 tut;

3) besatin: kıt’a 4, hasıl 400;

4) tarla der kariye-i Dreveşani: kıt’a 7, dönüm 4;

5) tarla der kariye-i Goryani: dönüm 4, 3 ceviz;

6) bağ der kariye-i Dreveşani: akça ‘öşr alırlar, kıt’a 3, hasıl 30;

7) kilise-i Duhi: 10 zeytun, 6 incir, 1 ceviz;

8) kilise-i Ahişratigo: 10 zeytun, 1 ceviz, 3 incir;

9) der nefis-i Siroz: dükkân 3, hasıl fi sene 140;

10) der nefis-i Siroz: ... mukata’a, yekûn ül sene al kâmile 300;

11) Cema’an: bağ, kıt’a 6; ..., kıt’a 4; dükkân 3; kilisa 2; tarla, dönüm 8; hasıl 870

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Yasak-i kepezciyân ki der nefis-i şehir-i Siroz mı budand, in ast ki zıkrı aved

[regulation about the veil-makers who are resident inside the city of Serres, these are who are mentioned (below)]:

1) Nikola Kastrino; 2) Yani veled-i Fotomari; 3) Tomas; 4) Dimos İstoyan; 5) Radoslav Bratar; 6) Dimos Kestorilo; 7) Todor birader-i Fotino; 8) Yorg Kamaryot; 9) Kosta Pramadi; 10) İstanislav Kosta; 11) Yorg Ustrancalo; 12) Dimos hallaç; 13) Nikola Fotyano; 14) Yani İkseno; 15) Mihal veled-i Yani; 16) Yorg destarcı; 17) Kalkuni (?) Preyara; 18) Dingo veled-i Henderad; 19) Dimitar veled-i Fotyano; 20) Yani veled-i Manol; 21) Çeki; 22) Manol birader-i o; 23) Vulkasin; 24) Miho veled-i İstanislav; 25) İstamad birader-i o; 26) bive İstamata; 27) bive Todora [zen-i] Milko; 28) bive Todora; 29) bive Todora [zen-i] Kosta; 30) bive Hristodulina;

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31) bive Maro [zen-i] Bogdan; 32) bive İrina zen-i Petko; 33) bive İrina [zen-i] Drazo;

Şehir kafirleri mezkur Katakuzino'nun mülk yerinde dedikleri bağın harağını beğliğe alırlar imiş, öyle olsa mezkur yer için haraçtan sahib-i mülk'e üç bin akça verirler imiş, amma biz hükmünü görmedik

[The aforementioned infidels of the city are said to pay the *haraç* of their vineyards in the *mülk* that is established over the village of Katakuzino. Accordingly, they give three thousand *aspers* to the *mülk*-owner of the aforementioned place, nevertheless we have not seen their certificate].

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Vilayet-i Siroz

Hasha-i zeamet-i Sinan Beğ Kilarbaşı

Nefs-i Siroz

Müslimanân

Mahalle-i cami

1) Sirac Halife imam-i cami; 2) İliyas sarraç; 3) Ali veled-i Firuz; 4) Osman dellal; 5) Koca Sinan; 6) Hasan veled-i Firuz; 7) Ahmed takye-duz; 8) İskender hizmetkâr amil; 9) Umur hayyat; 10) Mehmed veled-i kadı-i [Sela]nik (?); 11) Mehmed veled-i Firuz; 12) Mehmed takyeci; 13) Mehmed veled-i Ruhb; 14) Hızır hayyat; 15) Mustafa etmekci; 16) Seydi Ali çırakçı;

hane: 16

Mahalle-i Evrenos Beğ

1) Hasan imam; 2) Arab müezzîn; 3) Turahan kinci; 4) Somuncu Oğlu; 5) Belesan Afsak; 6) Mustafa papuççu; 7) Karagöz kinci; 8) Mahmud dükkândar; 9) İsa çörekçi; 10) Hacı Sola; 11) Leblebucu Oğlu; 12) Hamza veled-i Büyük Hasan; 13) İyas keş-ger; 14) İshak çerçi; 15) Hamza veled-i sabunu;

hane: 15

Mahalle-i Darbhane

1) imam Ali; 2) Yonus çulah; 3) Hacı başmakçı; 4) Süleyman kepek-peş; 5) Yusuf kepek-peş; 6) Yusuf habbaz; 7) Hızır kinci; 8) Druş habbaz; 9) Bayezid Oğlu; 10) Kasım kuşakçı; 11) Yakub sırçacı; 12) Abdullah çerçi; 13) Musa Yogun; 14) Yusuf çoban; 15) İliyas

mikremci; 16) İliyas hayyat; 17) [Y]onus çizmeci; 18) Tanrıvermiş kettanı; 19) Hamza veled-i kettanı; 20) Abnaba takyeci; 21) Veli kalaycı; 22) Abdi kalaycı; 23) Hamza takyeci; hane: 23

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Cema'at-i darbhane. Elllerinde ferman-i hümayun vardır ki avariz-i divaniyeden muaf ve müsellemler olurlar

[community of the mint personnel, they have in their hands imperial patent (confirming) that they are free and exempt from the *avariz-i divaniye*].

Ustadlar

1) Cediz sahib-i ayar; 2) Kasım; 3) Hızır; 4) Hüseyin; 5) Kasım; 6) Yusuf; 7) İshak; 8) Mehmed veled-i Kara Yonik (?); 9) İbrahim birader-i o; 10) Yusuf veled-i sahib-i ayar; 11) Rustem veled-i sahib-i ayar; 12) Hamza veled-i Hacı Doğan; 13) Mehmed veled-i Hacı Doğan; 14) İliyas birader-i Barak Çelebi;

hane: 14

İşçiler

1) Umur veled-i Abdullah; 2) Yahşi; 3) Kasım Dıraz; 4) Ahmed Sarı; 5) Mustafa Kara; 6) İbrahim; 7) Mustafa Sagır; 8) Hızır; 9) Genç; 10) Ahmed Gedik; 11) İnebeği; 12) Hızır kepek-pezi; 13) Şirmerd; 14) Şirmerd veled-i Harami; 15) Lütüf Sekran; 16) Yonus Yavuzan; 17) Yusuf Hubban; 18) İshak çeküççü; 19) Yakub Yavuzan; 20) Hızır Bali veled-i Genç;

hane: 20

Mahalle-i Haraççı

1) Hacı Mehmed; 2) İnebeği Yiğit; 3) Husam katib; 4) Davud; 5) Doğan kınıcı; 6) terzi Gurran; 7) Hasan kepek-pezi; 8) Yusuf veled-i Ali; 9) Hacı Masud; 10) Mehmed çizmeci; 11) Han terzi; 12) Ali Küçük; 13) Turalı; 14) Bezir; 15) Yusuf birader-i Abdi; 16) Hacı Durmuş; 17) Yusuf veled-i Husam; 18) bive ... zen-i Kasım; 19) bive ... zen-i Pirozu (?);

hane: 17 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Debbağlar

1) Hacı Yusuf imam; 2) İnebeği veled-i Ali; 3) Mustafa Balimiz; 4) Kasım boyacı; 5) Hoca Hacı Hamza; 6) Ali kepek-pezi;

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7) Atyeh Hoca debbağ; 8) Mehmed çillin-gir; 9) Aydın Hoca; 10) Mudranlı Hasan; 11) Karagöz debbağ; 12) İdurgı debbağ; 13) Hacı Uruç; 14) Abdurrahman takyeci; 15) Hüseyin dul-ger; 16) Hamza hayyat; 17) Hızır debbağ; 18) Kara Mehmed; 19) Mustafa veled-i Hasan; 20) bive Fatma; 21) bive ... zen-i pine-duz; 22) bive Ayşe;

hane: 19 bive: 3

Mahalle-i mescid-i Kara Hamza

1) Ahmed imam; 2) Mehmed terzi; 3) Mustafa veled-i o; 4) İsa veled-i İyaz; 5) Şirmerd hallaç; 6) Ahmed sarraç; 7) Mezid; 8) ... etmekci; 9) kazzaz Kaya; 10) Hacı İbrahim; 11) İnebeği durud-ger; 12) Kasım papuççu; 13) Karaca Mehmed; 14) bive ... zen-i Hacı takye-duz; 15) bive ... zen-i İyaz Mevla; 16) Mehmed kazzaz;

hane: 14 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Eslim Hatun

1) Hamza imam; 2) Hacı Sinan; 3) Aydın; 4) Hacı Hayreddin; 5) Halil veled-i Abdullah; 6) Mehmed azade-i Akhisarlı; 7) Hacı debbağ; 8) Arslan; 9) Hacı Besman; 10) Yusuf çizmeci; 11) Hamza Arab; 12) İskender veled-i Doğan; 13) Şirmerd bakkal; 14) Firuz sabuncu; 15) Hacı Yusuf; 16) İliyas bakkal; 17) Mehmed kettanı; 18) Musa Yeniçelu; 19) İliyas veled-i Abdullah; 20) Hüseyin veled-i Abdi; 21) Pir Ahmed; 22) Mehmed veled-i İshak; 23) Hacı Bali; 24) Ali veled-i Acem; 25) İnebeği katib; 26) Amil Feridun; 27) Hacı Edirneli; 28) Hatib veled-i Hızır; 29) Mehmed veled-i Aydın; 30) Piri veled-i Hacı Bali; 31) bive ... zen-i veled-i Masud; 32) bive Melek;

hane: 28 mücerred: 2 bive: 2

Mahalle-i debbağ Murad

1) Uzun imam; 2) Hoca Yahşi; 3) Hüseyin veled-i başmakçı; 4) Yusuf attar; 5) Barak hayyat; 6) Kasım takye-duz; 7) Mehmed durud-ger; 8) Ahmed Karamanlı; 9) Mahmud birader-i Dede Bali; 10) Mehmed veled-i Ali debbağ; 11) Mustafa birader-i o; 12) Feridun Vardaryoti;

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13) Hamza veled-i Abdullah; 14) Hasan veled-i Yusuf; 15) İliyas veled-i Abdullah; 16) Umur veled-i Abdullah; 17) Nazir Sufi; 18) Turmuşan Biran; 19) Sufi Küçük; 20) Karagöz debbağ; 21) bive ... zen-i Hacı Ali; 22) bive Buzur;

hane: 18 mücerred: 2 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Hakim Davud

1) Kemal Hoca imam; 2) Mehmed veled-i Eskinçi; 3) Tursun; 4) Mehmed veled-i Kadun (?); 5) İliyas; 6) Yusuf hayyat; 7) Mamak veled-i bezirci; 8) Hacı Ali; 9) Hacı Hamza; 10)

Kemal; 11) Mehmed veled-i Turalı; 12) Yahşi Eskinci; 13) Küçük Süleyman; 14) Süleyman; 15) Tursun çizmeci; 16) Umur veled-i Murad; 17) Mustafa veled-i Boruzan; 18) Mamak; 19) Hacı Ali Merzvanlı; 20) Hamza hayyat; 21) Süleyman; 22) Yahşi kepek-peş; 23) Ali Sar Yuvalar; 24) Zaganoz; 25) Fakih; 26) Nesuh; 27) Şamin; 28) Bayezid; 29) Kasım veled-i Hacı Kasım; 30) İliyas başmakçı; 31) İbrahim Sarı; 32) Yahşi Sarı; 33) İbrahim diğer Saruca; 34) Ali; 35) Mamak veled-i Boruzan; 36) Mehmed veled-i Hacı Ali; 37) Hasan veled-i Mamak; 38) Mahmud birader-i o; 39) Musa veled-i Merzbanı; 40) Ramazan veled-i o; 41) Salih; 42) Mamak veled-i Süleyman; 43) Musa veled-i Yahşi; 44) bive ... mader-i Barak; 45) bive ... (?) [zen-i] kayn-i İyas; 46) bive İrmenka; 47) bive ... zen-i Burnaz; 48) bive Ayşe; 49) bive ... zen-i Kerde; 50) Menut Sarı;

hane: 35 mücerred: 9 bive: 6

Mahalle-i mescid-i Koyun Yusuf

1) İsa Fakih; 2) Hacı Yusuf şerbetçi; 3) Mustafa Surhisar; 4) Hacı muytab; 5) Mahmud gulam-i Mahsub; 6) Hasan papuççu; 7) Ali Haşem; 8) Yonus muytab; 9) hallaç İbrahim; 10) Hamza dükkân-dar; 11) Yusuf debbağ; 12) Kasım börekçi; 13) Koca tutumcu; 14) Hamza veled-i börekçi; 15) Mehmed veled-i nalçacı; 16) Hasan Urbete; 17) Hamza veled-i kepek-peş; 18) kısıaççı veled-i Ablustan; 19) çörekçi Hacı; 20) Ahmed hoşabçı; 21) Ali muytab; 22) Yusuf börekçi; 23) Bazarlu; 24) Musa Kör;

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25) Bayezid; 26) Hamza veled-i Canpaşa; 27) Baki veled-i hallaç İbrahim; 28) Mustafa veled-i Yonus; 29) Acem aşçı; 30) Derviş Ali; 31) Tavek debbağ; 32) Aydın kepek-peş; 33) Farnafel börekçi; 34) Karaoğlan bozacı; 35) Ahmed kepek-peş; 36) Yusuf papuççu; 37) bive ... zen-i Canpaşa; 38) bive ... zen-i Musa; 39) bive ... zen-i Gurran; 40) bive

Tuti; 41) bive ... zen-i Ali Kara; 42) bive ... zen-i İliyas; 43) bive Topalanca; 44) Ahmed muytab;

hane: 37 bive: 7

Mahalle-i Hacı Kürd

1) Hacı Ali imam; 2) attar Hacı; 3) Abdi Hoca; 4) Veli; 5) Ham[am]cı oğlu; 6) Harm veled-i Abdullah; 7) Ahsan Natur; 8) Hakim; 9) Mübarrek bıçakçı; 10) Mustafa veled-i somuncu ?; 11) Amin Hayreddin; 12) Halil veled-i Kürd; 13) Mahmud çizmeci; 14) Mustafa hayyat; 15) Hamza bakkal; 16) Mehmed veled-i Arab; 17) samsacı Koca; 18) Hacı debbağ; 19) Zaganos; 20) Hamza ipekçi; 21) Hızır veled-i Bali; 22) bive Gülbahar; 23) bive Kadem; 24) bive ... (?);

25) Mehmed mehter; 26) Kasım Edirneli; 27) Lütü Siroz mehter;

bu mezkurlar'ın elinde ferman-i hümayun vardır ki asses nevbeten çalıp muaf ve müsellemler olalar

[in the hands of the aforementioned there is imperial patent (providing) that as long as they patrol in turns let them be (tax) free and exempt]

hane: 22 mücerred: 2 bive: 3

Mahalle-i Salih Fakih

1) [Y]onus imam; 2) Mübarrek veled-i Abdullah; 3) Kemal azade-i Salih Fakih; 4) Karagöz azade-i Kara Hasan; 5) Yusuf takye-duz; 6) Mehmed veled-i Atmaca; 7) Hızır Bali takyeci; 8) Hasan Divane; 9) İliyas papuççu; 10) Hacı Hasan; 11) Tursun; 12) Süleyman sarraç; 13) Hoşkadem; 14) Hasan kaftancı; 15) Hızır Küçük; 16) Hasan Feyzal; 17) Kemal çerçi; 18) Kündür Hamza; 19) İyas keş-ger; 20) Azeb ?; 21) Yusuf takyeci;

22) Mehmed keş-ger; 23) İbrahim çilin-gir; 24) ... kepek-peş; 25) Mehmed Brusalı keş-ger; 26) Aydın; 27) Ali veled-i hallaç; 28) Durmuş; 29) Turalı; 30) Zaganos bakkal;

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31) ... (?) Arab; 32) İsa veled-i Abdullah; 33) Hatib birader-i Tursun; 34) Mahmud bacdar; 35) Seksa; 36) Hayreddin Metveli; 37) bive ... zen-i Andegar; 38) bive ... zen-i Hızır çerçi; 39) bive Pşabula; 40) bive ... zen-i şerbetçi; 41) bive ... zen-i çulah; 42) bive ... zen-i Arif Hasan;

hane: 31 mücerred: 5 bive: 6

Mahalle-i Bedreddin Beğ

1) Hüseyin imam; 2) Mustafa çizmeci; 3) Mehmed mikremci; 4) Süleyman; 5) Musa; 6) Karagöz dellal; 7) Mustafa Türk; 8) İbrahim veled-i o; 9) Karagöz terzi; 10) Ramazan; 11) Sinkür; 12) İshak veled-i o; 13) İskender damad-i Sinkür; 14) Süleyman veled-i o; 15) İsa Bali veled-i Yusuf sarraç; 16) Yusuf sarraç; 17) Mustafa veled-i Nebi; 18) Ali Türk; 19) Mahmud veled-i Ramazan; 20) Mamak veled-i Yusuf sarraç;

hane: 20

Mahalle-i Süleyman Beğ

1) imam Mahmud; 2) Mehmed veled-i Mahmud Mudan; 3) Mehmed veled-i Ahmed; 4) Hızır veled-i Abdullah; 5) Mehmed veled-i Mustafa; 6) Hacı Ali veled-i Hacı Hasan; 7) Ali veled-i Abdullah; 8) Durmuş veled-i Abdullah; 9) Ahmed veled-i Abdullah; 10) Şirmerd veled-i Abdullah; 11) Seydi veled-i Ali; 12) Hasan veled-i Şami; 13) Mahmud veled-i Hamza; 14) Mehmed veled-i Mübarek; 15) Yahşi veled-i Ramazan; 16) Kasım veled-i İshak; 17) Şirmerd veled-i Abdullah; 18) Mustafa veled-i İbrahim; 19) Mustafa veled-i Abdullah; 20) Yusuf veled-i Abdullah; 21) Mahabil veled-i Mezid; 22) Mehmed veled-i

İsa; 23) dellal Hızır veled-i Şami; 24) İnebeği veled-i Ramazan; 25) Rüstem veled-i Mustafa; 26) Yusuf veled-i Abdullah; 27) Ali veled-i Abdullah; 28) Karaca veled-i Abdullah; 29) Mehmed veled-i Musa; 30) İsa veled-i Ahmed; 31) Ali veled-i Şirmerd Abdullah; 32) Hasan veled-i Ahmed; 33) Mahmud veled-i Ahmed; 34) Ali veled-i Hamza; 35) Şaban; 36) bive Fatma; 37) bive Elif; 38) bive ... zen-i helvacı; 39) bive Fatma; 40) bive Zeyneb; 41) İnebeği veled-i Abdullah; 42) Davud veled-i Abdullah; 43) Mehmed veled-i Ahmed; 44) Yusuf veled-i Ali;

hane: 38 bive: 6 [actually the hane are 39 and the bive 5]

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Mahalle-i Çasnigir

1) Yusuf imam; 2) Kasım papuççu; 3) Mahmud papuççu; 4) Nesuh dellâk; 5) Yaman Oğlu; 6) İpca (?) Hızır; 7) sarraç Bali; 8) Hacı ... (?); 9) Barak hayyat; 10) Ahi sarraç; 11) Hoşkadem dükkân-dar; 12) Ahmed Sar; 13) Yahşi takyeci; 14) Kemal çizmeci; 15) Mehmed papuççu; 16) Yonus çulah; 17) Hızır azade-i Dovre; 18) Hüseyin papuççu; 19) bive ... (?); 20) bive Hani; 21) bive Ayşe; 22) bive Hundi; 23) bive Azize; 24) bive Asila; 25) bive Zeliha;

hane: 18 bive: 7

Mahalle-i İsmail Beğ

1) imam Sırazi; 2) Mehmed müezzîn veled-i o; 3) Hacı Mustafa; 4) Sarı dellal; 5) İskender; 6) börekçi Veli; 7) Yahşi çizmeci; 8) Kasım boyacı; 9) Derviş Ahd ?; 10) Mehmed veled-i o; 11) Hasan papuççu; 12) Hacı terzi; 13) Canid Sufi; 14) Nesuh debbağ; 15) Mehmed veled-i Mustafa; 16) bive Hadice; 17) bive Bulbul;

hane: 15 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Burhan Beğ

1) imam Mehmed; 2) Yusuf veled-i Çaklı; 3) Hüseyin bakkal; 4) İskender veled-i urgancı; 5) Hayreddin Arab; 6) Mustafa çizmeci; 7) Abdi; 8) Mehmed bakkal; 9) Musa debbağ; 10) İskender debbağ; 11) Yakub palan-duz; 12) Derviş Ali; 13) Derviş Nesuh; 14) Doğan veled-i Abdullah; 15) bive ... zen-i Barak; 16) bive ... zen-i Hamza;

hane: 14 bive: 2

Mahalle-i mescid-i Ayşe Hatun [zen-i] Doğan Beğ

1) Gurrani Yusuf imam; 2) Hasan Harize; 3) Fuad (Kovad) Bali; 4) Harize İyas; 5) Tanrıvermiş; 6) Hızır çizmeci; 7) Musa; 8) Karagöz; 9) Kasım takyeci; 10) bive Selçuk; 11) bive Hadice; 12) bive Melik;

hane: 9 bive: 3

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Mahalle-i Doğan Beğ

1) Yusuf imam; 2) Hacı Kemal; 3) Muhyiddin; 4) Ramazan veled-i Karaca; 5) Hacı Zaganos; 6) Atmaca Bahar; 7) Şirmerd bakkal; 8) Kasım dellal; 9) Süleyman dükkân-dar; 10) Musa takyeci; 11) Hamza çulah; 12) Ayşe; 13) Petriçli Hacı; 14) Hayreddin; 15) Yusuf veled-i Hacı Zaganos; 16) Ahmed veled-i Ramazan; 17) Hamza veled-i Tanrıvermiş; 18) Kasım ... (?); 19) bive Benefşe; 20) bive Peyosta;

hane: 18 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Koca Hatib

1) Yakub imam; 2) Hızır kabacı; 3) Yakub bıçakçı; 4) Hüseyin hayyat; 5) Ali hayyat; 6) Mahmud Can; 7) Hüseyin veled-i müezzin; 8) Mustafa dellal; 9) Kasım dellal; 10) Ahmed veled-i imam; 11) Mahmud veled-i Turalı; 12) Sola takyeci; 13) Behadir bakkal; 14)

Şirmerd boyacı; 15) Hızır hamamcı; 16) Ahmed katib; 17) Mustafa muytab; 18) Hızır sakka; 19) Tur[g]ud; 20) Nesuh hayyat; 21) Ahmed veled-i Turalı; 22) Karagan Beğ helvalı; 23) İliyas çizmeci; 24) Mezıd çizmeci; 25) Nesuh dükkâncı; 26) Yusuf birader-i iyici; 27) İyas; 28) Abdi; 29) Ali ... (?); 30) Yusuf; 31) Saucı; 32) Yusuf veled-i müezzin; 33) Nesuh Şam; 34) bive ... zen-i Ali; 35) bive ... zen-i Turalı;

hane: 33 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Tatar Hatun

1) Mehmed imam; 2) Hacı Ramazan; 3) İpekçi Hacı; 4) Atmaca veled-i Abdullah; 5) Hızır çulah; 6) Mustafa çırakçı; 7) Ahmed Kör; 8) börekçi Ahmed; 9) çilin-gir Musa; 10) Hacı Ali takye-duz; 11) Yusuf veled-i Mübarek; 12) Sinan Reiş; 13) börekçi Hamza; 14) börekçi Yusuf; 15) Yusuf hayyat; 16) İskender azade-i Hacı Ramazan; 17) Hacı yolcu; 18) Ramazan muze-duz;

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19) Hızır takyeci; 20) Karagöz Abdullah; 21) Tursun hayyat; 22) Hacı Abdullah; 23) Küçük Hacı; 24) Saruca hayyat; 25) İshak şerbetçi; 26) Rüstem hayyat; 27) Mustafa takye-duz; 28) Mahmud veled-i Hacı Sinan; 29) Musa veled-i ... (?); 30) İsa Bali veled-i yuvacı; 31) İsa Bali veled-i Hoşkadem; 32) bive ... zen-i ... (?); 33) bive ... zen-i Timur; 34) bive ... zen-i boyacı; 35) Ahmed hayyat; 36) Mehmed sarraç; 37) Rüstem sarraç; 38) Mahmud takye-duz;

hane: 35 bive: 3

Mahalle-i Hacı Ali

1) Hoca İliyas imam; 2) Yusuf Herat (?); 3) İsa papuççu; 4) İdris Siyag; 5) Mehmed veled-i Mimşihri; 6) İsmail azade-i Bayezid; 7) Mustafa odabaşı; 8) Mustafa debbağ; 9) Hızır ...

(?); 10) İliyas hayyat; 11) Yusuf tevaşçı; 12) Ahi Sirbolı; 13) ... (?) debbağ; 14) Murad çizmecı; 15) Ali veled-i Kara Mehmedi; 16) Bedreddin hayyat; 17) Mehmed veled-i Aca; 18) bive Şami; 19) bive ... (?); 20) bive Ayşe; 21) bive Çınar; 22) bive Kadem; 23) bive ... (?); 24) bive ... zen-i Sarmusakı;

hane: 17 bive: 7

Mahalle-i Hayreddin Bacdar

1) Kasım imam; 2) Resul kethüda; 3) Mahmud kireşçi; 4) Firuz kettancı; 5) Bayramlı veled-i çantacı; 6) Kasım Sirbolı; 7) Mehmed çulah; 8) Musa çulah; 9) Karaca çulah; 10) Mustafa veled-i Karaca; 11) İliyas çulah; 12) Zaganos hallaç; 13) Nesuh hallaç; 14) Kazan İbrahim; 15) İyas kettancı; 16) Karagöz yolcu; 17) Saruca sarraç; 18) İsa Keçek; 19) Mamak veled-i kireşçi Mahmud; 20) Mamak veled-i Nesuh; 21) İskender azade-i Hızır; 22) Hamza azade-i Hızır bac-dar; 23) Hayreddin bac-dar; 24) bive Fatma; 25) bive Melik; 26) Nesuh Siyah;

hane: 24 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Kamenîça

1) Sinan müezzın; 2) Mustafa hayyat; 3) Mamak takye-duz; 4) Hasan nalband; 5) Saruca tuzcu;

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6) Mahmud Hoca hamamcı; 7) Mustafa nalband; 8) Şirmerd nalband; 9) Kasım hayyat; 10) Bali hayyat; 11) Sinkür Lala; 12) Şamir tuzcu; 13) Mustafa hallaç; 14) Hamza veled-i Mustafa; 15) İliyas veled-i Abdullah; 16) Karaca Solak; 17) Karaca azade-i Mustafa Beğ; 18) Kasım veled-i Karaca; 19) Behşayış çulah; 20) Mehmed mikremci; 21) Mustafa papuççu;

hane: 22 [the actual number of *hanes* is 21]

Mahalle-i Kula

1) Arab bıçakçı; 2) Mustafa debbağ; 3) Yusuf hallaç; 4) Şamir çizmeci; 5) Yahşi çizmeci; 6) İshak çizmeci; 7) İbrahim; 8) Hızır Köseç; 9) Mehmed veled-i Durmuş; 10) Yo[n]us; 11) bive Paşali;

hane: 10 bive: 1

Yekûn-i hane-i Müslimân: hane: 535 mücerred: 28 bive: 75 [the actual sum is 583 hane, 20 mücerred and 69 bive]

Cema'at-i mezkur'un ki muaf ve müsellemler andlar avariz-i divaniye[den]

[groups among the aforementioned who are free and exempt from the *avariz-i divaniye*]:

cema'at-i darbhane: 34, mehterler-i nevbet: 3

Gebrân

Mahalle-i Sarrafân

1) İspilyot veled-i Papas; 2) Mihael veled-i Kanaki; 3) Kosta Arvanid; 4) Aristi; 5) Paraskevas; 6) bive ... [zen-i] Dimitri Duka; 7) bive Logaryastra;

hane: 5 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Şemna'yân

1) Dimos veled-i Metaksa; 2) Mihael veled-i Vaçyo; 3) bive Vaya;

hane: 2 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Hovaçık

1) Todoros Dorba; 2) Asimas veled-i Todor; 3) Yorgi veled-i Almamana; 4) Argiros veled-i Toma; 5) Manol veled-i İstoya; 6) Brakiç veled-i Solak;

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7) Manol veled-i Solak; 8) Yani veled-i Piskano; 9) Yorgi veled-i Melisino; 10) bive Surobolina; 11) bive ... [zen-i] Tomas;

hane: 9 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Metaksopoli

1) Yani veled-i Kuraplad; 2) Komnino veled-i Uraniya; 3) Palologos; 4) Andreyas veled-i Paskoli; 5) Yani veled-i Paskoli; 6) Dimo veled-i İstavrid; 7) Kosta veled-i İstavrid; 8) Katakalo; 9) Tomas veled-i Filopul; 10) Manol veled-i Glava; 11) Vlaho veled-i Hrobono; 12) Manol veled-i Komninos; 13) Manol veled-i Kuraplad; 14) Manol veled-i Katakalo; 15) bive Todora;

hane: 11 mücerred: 3 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Kir Dimitri

1) Yorgi veled-i Aleksi; 2) Foka veled-i Kanak; 3) Yanī veled-i İspilyot; 4) bive ... [zen-i] Hristodul;

hane: 4 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Kürkçüyân

1) Manol Mavroyani; 2) Yani veled-i o; 3) Manomaho veled-i Andreyas; 4) Lambrino; 5) Aleksi veled-i Çokandi; 6) Dimitri veled-i Çokandi; 7) Yani veled-i Çokandi; 8) Tornik;

hane: 8

Mahalle-i Haddadân

1) Manol veled-i Yenimati; 2) Dingo veled-i Varla; 3) Manol veled-i Samata; 4) Manol veled-i Dobrika;

hane: 4

Mahalle-i Yağcıyân

1) Manol veled-i Havaro; 2) Yorgi veled-i Havaro; 3) Manol veled-i Argiros; 4) Dimo veled-i Manol; 5) bive Tomena;

hane: 4 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Bakkalân

1) Duka veled-i Toma; 2) Angelo veled-i Toma; 3) Dimo veled-i Toma; 4) Kiryakos veled-i Argaristriça; 5) Manol veled-i Alaman; 6) Kosta veled-i Argaristriça;

hane: 6

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Mahalle-i Ayvat (?)

1) Manol Dobriç; 2) İspilyot veled-i Kaloyana; 3) Dimo veled-i Kaloyana; 4) bive ... [zeni] Kaloyani;

hane: 3 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Hayyatân

1) Yorgi veled-i Filomuto; 2) Manol veled-i Manasi; 3) Yani veled-i Yona; 4) İstamad veled-i Kondar; 5) Manol veled-i İstamad; 6) Sinandinos veled-i İspilyot; 7) Manol veled-i Sinadino; 8) Yonas veled-i İspilyot; 9) Dimo veled-i Todor; 10) Dimo veled-i Kalimiri;

hane: 10

Mahalle-i Çulahân

1) Musko; 2) Filomat veled-i Dimitri; 3) Yorgi veled-i Melisino;

hane: 3

Mahalle-i Semerciyân

1) İspilyot veled-i Papa; 2) Yorgi veled-i Makriyo; 3) Kosta Moskoplu; 4) Dimo veled-i İfranista; 5) Yani veled-i Sinadino; 6) Todor veled-i Andreyas; 7) bive Yura;

hane: 6 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Çenger

1) Dingo veled-i Plati; 2) Aleksi veled-i Toklito; 3) Brinos; 4) Dimos veled-i Aridi; 5) Kalohiritis; 6) Sinadinos veled-i o; 7) Yorgi veled-i Kalohorit; 8) Yani veled-i Plati; 9) bive ... [zen-i] İksatoplu; 10) Kalifokadyo; 11) bive Kalokira;

hane: 9 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Sabuncuyân

1) Çankaroplu; 2) Manol veled-i Çangar; 3) Angelo veled-i Kalokoridi; 4) Komano veled-i Patrik; 5) Panayot veled-i Kosta; 6) bive Todora;

hane: 5 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Zergerân

1) Bustoma (?) veled-i Vasiliko; 2) Toma veled-i Vasiliko; 3) bive Kladuha;

hane: 2 bive: 1

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Mahalle-i Papaslar

1) Papas Plumid; 2) Manol veled-i Papas Yorgi; 3) Papa Yorgi Miristiko; 4) Papas [A]postol; 5) Papas Komninos; 6) Papas Dyakos; 7) Dimitri veled-i Hartofilaka;

hane: 9 [the actual number of hane is 7]

Mahalle-i Aslihan Paşa

1) Kosta veled-i Adrahta; 2) Dimo veled-i Toloyit; 3) Yorgi veled-i Toloyit; 4) Kosta veled-i Peristeryot; 5) Atanas veled-i Vasil; 6) İspilyo[t] veled-i Hacavri; 7) Yani veled-i Kurapladi; 8) İstamad veled-i Angelina; 9) Kosta veled-i Kaluta; 10) Dimo veled-i

Mangapsas; 11) Manol veled-i Mavrota; 12) Lambrino Logaristris; 13) Yorgi veled-i Kokala;

hane: 13

Mahalle-i Kasım Çelebi

1) Yaruşa veled-i Papa; 2) Dyakonisto veled-i Pana; 3) Kosta veled-i Çukala; 4) Yorgi veled-i Deveko; 5) İstavroplu; 6) Todor veled-i Çimaronihlo; 7) Kasbetas; 8) Aleksî veled-i Sitaras; 9) Kalopulos; 10) Bostov veled-i Proman; 11) Yani veled-i Bano; 12) Yorgi veled-i Sala; 13) Yorgi veled-i Kavlan; 14) Dimos veled-i Pantal; 15) Yorgi veled-i İstavroplu; 16) Kosta veled-i Salayo; 17) bive ... [zen-i] İspilyot; 18) bive [A]ngelidina; 19) bive Propodina; 20) bive ... [zen-i] Panayot Pabano;

hane: 16 bive: 4

Mahalle-i Selânikli Hasan

1) Mihaî veled-i Sinadino; 2) Yani veled-i Mavroplaki; 3) Komnino veled-i Palologo; 4) Milko veled-i Gurvar; 5) Yani veled-i Palologo; 6) bive İstefanina;

hane: 5 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Mahi-i Gebrân

1) Andronikos veled-i Atanas; 2) Lambro veled-i Varla; 3) Dimos veled-i Varla; 4) Yorgi veled-i Sinika; 5) Kosta veled-i Sinika; 6) Tomas veled-i Dyako; 7) İspilyot veled-i Analosto; 8) bive ... [zen-i] Sinika;

hane: 7 bive: 1

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Mahalle-i Urgancıyân

1) Yorgi veled-i Piromanos; 2) Hrisotopulos; 3) Sinadinos Miristiko; 4) Duka veled-i Sinadino; 5) Angelos veled-i Sinadino; 6) Manol veled-i Piromano;

hane: 6

Mahalle-i Kassabân

1) Yani veled-i Vatanos; 2) İspilyot veled-i Sapuna; 3) İspilyot veled-i Bakyalat; 4) Yani veled-i İspilyot; 5) Yani veled-i Glipar; 6) Yani veled-i Lалуha; 7) Dimo veled-i Manol; 8) Androniko veled-i Kalifira; 9) Marinos birader-i o; 10) Parvasas; 11) Yorgi veled-i Parvasa; 12) Dimo veled-i Yorgi; 13) Kosta veled-i Andreya; 14) Dimo veled-i Sima; 15) bive Kala; 16) bive Todora;

hane: 14 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Hacı İbrahim

1) Todor veled-i Dimo; 2) Argiros veled-i Moromidi; 3) İspilyot veled-i Krani; 4) Dukо veled-i Manomah; 5) Manol veled-i Tomat; 6) Kosta veled-i Sinadino; 7) Apostol veled-i Fotino; 8) Lonbar; 9) Mihal veled-i Proskomino; 10) Todor veled-i Kastoryano; 11) Dimos Mohlitas; 12) bive İkstatokor; 13) bive Maro; 14) bive ... [zen-i] Canebot; 15) bive ... [zen-i] Karanika; 16) bive İksati; 17) bive ... [zen-i] Sapuna; 18) bive Tokloni; 19) bive Çankarina; 20) bive İksatuho; 21) bive ... [zen-i] Sumaryot;

hane: 11 bive: 10

Mahalle-i Fuzlullah

1) Yorgi veled-i İstiro; 2) Yorgi veled-i İpşoma; 3) Arhangelino; 4) Filo veled-i Arhangelino; 5) Panayot birader-i o; 6) Dimo veled-i Sortovir (?); 7) Klotinos terzi; 8) Klotinos semerci; 9) Dimakos ...(?); 10) Agalos Çikarbas; 11) Mihal veled-i Kutlu; 12)

Argiros Kalohorit; 13) Yani veled-i Toma; 14) Yorgi veled-i Toma; 15) Yorgi veled-i Arhangelino; 16) bive Çakyandina; 17) Yorgi;

hane: 16 bive: 1

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Mahalle-i Papuççular

1) Dimos veled-i Hacı; 2) Laskari Parali; 3) bive ... [zen-i] Negoslav; 4) bive Nestorina;

hane:2 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Ayo Vasil

1) Yorgi veled-i Manol; 2) Yonas veled-i Kanakari; 3) bive Buno; 4) bive Kandaya; 5) bive Yuro; 6) bive Todora;

hane: 2 bive: 4

Mahalle-i Tornos (Burnos ?)

1) Aleksi veled-i Kosta[d]in; 2) Dingos Ayanoplu; 3) Nikifor veled-i Lambrino; 4) Lambrino veled-i Dingo; 5) bive ... (zen-i) Yani Makri; 6) bive ... (zen-i) İpşoma;

hane: 4 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Bostancılar

1) Progonos veled-i Lefa; 2) Dimitri veled-i Rodaki; 3) Yonas veled-i Ksatoplu; 4) İspilyot veled-i Dimitri; 5) bive ... (zen-i) Mihal;

hane: 4 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Hacı Mehmed

1) Kosta veled-i Kaloyan; 2) Yani veled-i Papas; 3) Tornik veled-i Agalo; 4) Dimo veled-i İstefan;

hane: 4

Mahalle-i Koca Kadı

1) Yani veled-i İstefan; 2) Leko veled-i Varvariti; 3) Manol veled-i İvlahyot; 4) Zoyanos; 5) Atanas veled-i Kapla; 6) Dimo veled-i Makropulos; 7) Mihal veled-i İpsara; 8) Yonas veled-i Damaskino; 9) Yani veled-i Çankar; 10) İksenos; 11) Dingos veled-i Dav; 12) Argiros İstefan; 13) İspilyot Makroplu; 14) Manol veled-i Zoyano; 15) bive Yovano; hane: 14 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Kadı-i İzmir

1) Argiros veled-i Yaludi; 2) bive Paşamiroduki;

hane: 1 bive: 1

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Mahalle-i Papasân-i diğer

1) Yani veled-i Sapsanos; 2) Simos veled-i Papas Aleksi; 3) Manol veled-i Papas Dimitri; 4) Yorgi veled-i Melisino; 5) Gavalas veled-i Papas Dyako; 6) Duka [veled-i] Papas Komnino; 7) Androniko veled-i Papas Kuroplad; 8) Tomas veled-i Papas Kuroplad; 9) bive ... [zen-i] Papa Ayabostina; 10) bive ... [zen-i] Duka; 11) bive ... [zen-i] Lazar; 12) bive Kalopolitiya;

hane: 8 bive: 4

Mahalle-i Çömlekçiyân

1) Foka veled-i Mavrudi; 2) Todor veled-i Foka; 3) Apostol veled-i Psandrasas; 4) Mihos veled-i Çankalina; 5) bive ... [zen-i] Andreyas; 6) bive Simina; 7) bive Bilira;

hane: 4 bive: 3

Mahalle-i Değirmenciyân

1) Moskoyo veled-i Margarit; 2) Mosko veled-i Yorgi; 3) Yonas veled-i Nikoliç; 4) Yani veled-i Nikoliç; 5) Dimo veled-i Andreyas; 6) Kapsaduka; 7) Todor veled-i Andrasto;
hane: 7

Mahalle-i Ayo Nikola

1) Dimo veled-i Manol; 2) Yorgi veled-i Dimo; 3) Prozdan veled-i Gambros; 4) Yani veled-i Kipuros; 5) bive Anakatrevkena;
hane: 4 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Mehmed Şah al kadı ibn al Fenari

1) Apostol veled-i Ksato; 2) Yani veled-i Asimiya; 3) Hrisoka veled-i Yorgi; 4) Mihos veled-i Mavrudi; 5) Dimos veled-i Yorgi; 6) Marinos veled-i Yorgi; 7) Todor veled-i Dimo; 8) Yani veled-i İskorda; 9) Angelos veled-i Kurtik; 10) Yorgi veled-i Nikola; 11) Manol veled-i Todor; 12) İspilyot veled-i Piromano; 13) Toma;
hane: 13

Mahalle-i Kerbanan nam-i diğer Karvana

1) İspilyot veled-i Dobra; 2) Dimo veled-i Varino; 3) bive ... [zen-i] Yorgi;
hane: 2 bive: 1

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Mahalle-i Ayo Dimitri

1) Manol veled-i Torbetar; 2) Yorgi veled-i Torbetar; 3) Sofyano Kuça; 4) İspilyot; 5) bive ... [zen-i] Mesavrino;
hane: 4 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Nalband

1) Lependrinos; 2) Vavali veled-i Lahota; 3) Marinos veled-i Plumi; 4) Yorgi veled-i Plumi; 5) bive Komnani;

hane: 4 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Şahin Efendi

1) ... veled-i Butovar (?); 2) Yani veled-i Halastra; 3) Mihal veled-i Halastra; 4) İstamad veled-i Halastra; 5) Yorgi veled-i İksato; 6) İksato Zoryan; 7) bive Krustalo;

hane: 6 bive: 1

Mahalle-i Ahmed

1) Andura veled-i Filomat;

hane: 1

Mahalle-i Yazıcı İbrahim

1) Panayot veled-i Kosta; 2) Mihal veled-i Modino; 3) Manol veled-i Çumari; 4) Dimo veled-i Çumari; 5) Manol veled-i Kuropladi; 6) Aryanid;

hane: 6

Mahalle-i Hamza Bali

1) Yorgi veled-i Kolondo; 2) Yorgi veled-i Somata; 3) Yani veled-i Piromano; 4) Manol veled-i Angelo; 5) bive Petroya; 6) bive ... [zen-i] İspilyot; 7) bive Belko; 8) bive Hrisa;

hane: 4 bive: 4

Mahalle-i Lokali

1) İstefan veled-i Toma;

hane: 1

Mahalle-i Anandyoti

1) bive ... [zen-i] Nektar; 2) bive ... [zen-i] Laskari;

bive: 2

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Mahalle-i İsmail Beğ

1) Todor Malik; 2) Manol Arvanid; 3) Yani veled-i Arvanid; 4) Dimo veled-i Malik; 5)

bive Todora; 6) bive Zuyano;

hane: 4 bive: 2

Todoris, Yorgi veled-i Hacı, Dimo veled-i Çamur, Yorgi Keşiş:

işte mezkur dört nefer kafır saray-i amire ve hamam ve suyolunun merameti için hizmet[i] eyledikleri ... (?), ellerinde ferman-i hümayunları vardır ki haraçtan ve ispençeden ve sa'ir avariz-i divaniyeden muaf ve müsellemler olalar

[here, the aforementioned four infidels are charged with the duty of repairing the great palace, the bath and the water conduits, ..., they have in their hands imperial patents about their being free and exempt from *haraç*, *ispençe* and other *avariz-i divaniye*]

Yekûn-i Gebrân-i şehir ma' fermancıyân ki muaf ve müsellemler and

[total number of the town's infidels including the holders of patents who are (tax) free and exempt]:

hane: 282 mücerred: 3 bive: 64 [the actual sum is 289 *hane*, 3 *mücerred*, 62 *bive*]

ispençe: 7209

Mahsulat-i nefis-i Siroz:

hasa:

eşcar: 'an evvel viran hâli ma'alum and

[they are known to have been in a state of decay since old times];

eşcar: evvel defterde viran kayd olunmuş ... (?);

bağ: viran hâli

1) niyabet-i şehir ve bac ve bozahane ve zeytin (ve) mahi: 32000

2) monopoliye: 17000

3) hergele ma' çay: 5500

4) 'an bağ-i Müslimanân: 2000

5) 'an berg-i tut: 200

6) resm-i takçan-i bağat: 200

7) resm-i agıl: 100

8) mukata'a-i bağ-i Derviş Ahmed der ... : 10

9) mukata'a-i zemin-i Bazarlu: 50

10) mukata'a-i zemin-i ... (?) : 70

11) mukata'a-i zemin-i Hasan: 50

12) mukata'a-i zemin-i Kara Bali: 60

13) asiyab-i Hızır Beğ: 150

14) asiyab-i Mehmed veled-i Yusuf Koyun, altı ay yürüyen [active for six months], 1 bab,

5 göz: 150

15) asiyab-i Ali ben-i Firuz Beğ, , altı ay yürüyen [active for six months], 1 bab, 5 göz:

150

16) asiyab-i Burhan, altı ay yürüyen [active for six months], 1 bab, 7 göz: 200

17) asiyab-i Hoca Aydın, mülk, 1 göz: 30

18) asiyab-i vakıf-i ... (?) , 2 göz: 60

19) bostan der ...-i asiyab-i Burhan: 50

20) ...-i çiftçıyan-i şehir: 1800

gendüm: 10 mud, 1200

cev: 10 mud, 600

Ceman:

hane-i Müslim 534, mücerred 27, bive 75 [the actual numbers are: 582 *hane*, 20 *mücerred*, 70 *bive*]

hane-i Gebr 278, mücerred 3, bive 64 [the actual numbers are: 289 *hane*, 3 *mücerred*, and 62 *bive*]

yekûn gayr ez ispençe: 59830 [confirmed by addition]

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Manastir-i Metrapolid der nefis-i Siroz

1) dukkân: kıt'a 3: al maktu fi sene 300;

2) besatin: kıt'a 6: al maktu fi sene 1700;

3) bostan-i diğer: kıt'a 1: 500;

4) eşcar-i tut: aded 13: 150;

5) Kilise-i Duhi tabi-i manastir: eşcar-i zeytin: aded 50: 150;

6) Kilise-i İsrati: eşcar-i zeytin: aded 6: 200; 1 ceviz: 5; 6 incir: 10;

7) der kariye-i Monospita, eşcar-i ceviz: aded 4: 20;

8) der kariye-i Lakkos, mukata'a-i zemin-i bağat: kıt'a 4: 100; eşcar-i zeytin: aded 20: 100;

9) der kariye-i Dreveşani, mukata'a-i zemin-i bağat: kıt'a 15: 100;

10) der kariye-i Prepredova (?), bağ: kıt'a ...: 600;

11) der çiftlik-i Hamza Beğ, bağ: kıt'a ...: 600;

12) tarla: kıt'a 8: 100;

13) der kariye-i Velço, bağ: kıt'a ...: 800;

hasıl: 5555 [the actual result of the addition is 5435]

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Vakıf-i mescid-i merhum mağfur hazret Gazi Hudavendigâr

1) başhane: fi yevm 8, fi sene 2880, mezkur başhane ...

2) dekkakın, bab 5: fi sene 720;

3) 'an cizye-i Siroz: 7200, allah ... olmuş;

al vazayf

1) hatib: fi yevm 14;

2) imam-i mescid-i mezkur: fi yevm 6;

3) müezzın ... (?): fi yevm 4;

4) hafızân, nefer 3: fi yevm: 3;

5) muarrif ve ... (?): fi yevm 2;

6) beha-i ... (?): fi yevm 1;

TTD-3

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Vilayet-i Zihne

Cebelü 9, çadır 1, tenketür 1, geçim 1

Hasha-i subaşı Bayezid Beğ veled-i Aydın Beğ

Nefs-i Zihne

Niyabet ma' vilayet: 5000

Müslimanân

1) imam Yonus Koca; 2) Sinkür; 3) Huvlak Sinkür; 4) Karagöz hallaç; 5) Hızır hallaç; 6) Kulagöz; 7) Aydın veled-i (?); 8) Murad veled-i terzi; 9) Yusuf veled-i Adrahta; 10) Mehmedi veled-i o; 11) Karaca; 12) Doğan Yusuf; 13) Karagöz; 14) Kasım; 15) Hamza Tanrıvermiş; 16) İliyas hallaç; 17) Sinkür; 18) Hamza İsmail; 19) Mehmedi Mustafa; 20) Tursun terzi; 21) Mustafa veled-i o; 22) Mehmedi Danişmend; 23) Yusuf veled-i o; 24) Rustem; 25) İliyas; 26) Ali hallaç; 27) Hacı hallaç; 28) Hacı Yusuf; 29) Karagöz naib; 30) İsmail; 31) Silahdar Ali; 32) Turahan;

hane: 32

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Gebrân

1) Papas Yani; 2) Yorg Maronid; 3) Yorg Katakalo; 4) Piskifiti Delyasan; 5) Mihal Lagodondi; 6) Dimos Maronid; 7) Yorg birader-i o; 8) Papas Vasralid; 9) Dimo veled-i o; 10) Todor birader-i o; 11) Mihal Koryali; 12) Todor veled-i Toma; 13) Yorg birader-i o; 14) Dimo veled-i Kalvari; 15) Yani veled-i Mavromati; 16) Dimos Fran[k]; 17) Yani birader-i o; 18) Dimo veled-i Laluk; 19) Dimo veled-i Hristodul; 20) Petkos; 21)

Trendafile Yona; 22) Yani Pelikan; 23) Kosta Çulakala; 24) Yani veled-i İpsata; 25) Yorg birader-i o; 26) Dimo birader-i o; 27) Todor Çukala; 28) Todor veled-i Kakobiht; 29) Hrelos Çukala; 30) Manol Kacolid; 31) Kiryako veled-i Katrinyot; 32) Ahirat veled-i Kondaras; 33) Kalodikto birader-i o; 34) Miho birader-i o; 35) Yanko; 36) Yani; 37) Dimos Labrino; 38) Oştrino Labrino; 39) Kiryazi Brando; 40) Dimo veled-i Piskifiti; 41) Dimo veled-i Goryani; 42) Kosta veled-i Balamo; 43) Manol; 44) Hristo[du]l birader-i o; 45) Hristodul Perdikar; 46) Yorg Kosti; 47) Papa Vasralid; 48) Yani Piskifiti; 49) Androniko veled-i o; 50) Kosta veled-i Androniko; 51) Dimo birader-i o; 52) Mihal [veled-I] Papa Vasralid; 53) Kosta Yaruca; 54) Todoris Selaniko; 55) Dimo birader-i o; 56) Todor Gudeli; 57) Kostomir Ugrupar; 58) Stuki Karavid; 59) Yani veled-i Koçolid; 60) Dimo birader-i o;

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1) Manol İskulida; 2) Dimos Papradin; 3) Yorg İskeda; 4) Dimo birader-i o; 5) Kiryako; 6) Atanas İksire; 7) Todor İsked; 8) Todoris Hamra; 9) Yorg Komnano; 10) Krika veled-i Yorg; 11) Mihal Srebura; 12) Kiryazi; 13) Dimo veled-i Papa Dimitri; 14) Mihal Peskena; 15) Megalomato Basina; 16) Yorg Simyon; 17) Yani birader-i o; 18) Sinahiri Mamino; 19) Todor Filyot; 20) Papa Aleksi; 21) Manol Melisino; 22) Kosta Filoksen; 23) İstasino Boga; 24) Yani veled-i İskeda; 25) Dimo veled-i Mavro; 26) Dimos Helan (?); 27) Dimos Kavunci; 28) Kosta Androniko; 29) Todor veled-i Kromyali; 30) Dimo birader-i o; 31) Kosta Mavromad; 32) Manol Hudina; 33) Papas Manol; 34) Mihal Agatomi; 35) Nestor Aleksura; 36) Yorg Kosturo; 37) Manol Harid; 38) Manol Yamola; 39) Yani birader-i o; 40) Kosta veled-i Çurdo; 41) Kosta Fragi; 42) Yorg İvlas; 43) Mihal Lagudi; 44) Mihal Mesopota[mo]; 45) Yorg birader-i o; 46) Piskifiti Kulanca; 47) Kosta

Hubra; 48) İvdokimo Bersak; 49) Yorg Kudrub; 50) Mihal birader-i İvdokimo; 51) Yorg Klapa; 52) Dimo Panayot; 53) Mihal Zlado; 54) Stuki Porda; 55) Mandramino Triliro (?); 56) Manol [veled-i] Papa Luka; 57) Mihal Melisa; 58) Yorg birader-i o; 59) Mihal [veled-i] Papa Hridi; 60) Dimo veled-i Papa Çiça; 61) Piskifiti veled-i Likoduso; 62) Yani birader-i o; 63) Kiryak Rosil; 64) Yorg Kalilina; 65) Kosta veled-i Maryod;

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1) Aleksi veled-i Margari; 2) Dimo veled-i Muskudi; 3) Bramyas; 4) Nikola Hranko; 5) Manol Yorg; 6) Muzal [veled-i] Papa Aleksi; 7) Papas Yani; 8) Piskifiti Langadi; 9) İstudir birader-i o; 10) Todor birader-i o; 11) Panayot birader-i Yorg; 12) Papas Mesopotamo; 13) Yani veled-i o; 14) Todor Toloyid; 15) Miho birader-i o; 16) Yani; 17) Atanas birader-i Miho; 18) Kurtik; 19) Dimo veled-i o; 20) Yorg veled-i Apostol; 21) Piskifiti Kuzuhi; 22) Yani birader-i o; 23) Yorg birader-i o; 24) Dimo veled-i Kalomira; 25) Sagarina veled-i Hameto; 26) Papas Aliyot; 27) İvrana Fotum (?); 28) Mihal Kefala; 29) Manol İvlaho; 30) Fotino veled-i Ahalot; 31) Dimo veled-i Fotino; 32) İkseno birader-i o; 33) Yorg Mesiç; 34) Dimo birader-i o; 35) Yorg birader-i Dimo; 36) Yaban Labro; 37) Manol Peyo; 38) Kaluto; 39) Manol veled-i o; 40) Yovan birader-i o; 41) Dimo veled-i Kaliç; 42) Keremyot Mamino; 43) Duka Amasyano; 44) Yorg Hebad; 45) Yorg Grubar; 46) Yorg damad-i Grubar; 47) Todoris Kruçyot; 48) Yorg Togan; 49) Yorg Syano; 50) Dimo veled-i İvlas; 51) Todor veled-i Kopaç; 52) Yorg terzi; 53) Yorg veled-i Kruçyot; 54) Papas Yorg; 55) Yanī Krayud; 56) Yorg birader-i o; 57) Manol veled-i Kaloman; 58) Palatyano; 59) Maminos; 60) Glavas Palatyano; 61) Yorg Psela; 62) Yani veled-i Adrahta; 63) Foka Sedoya; 64) Yorg Foka; 65) Atanas Çurmabo;

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1) Komano; 2) Sinahiri Drosino; 3) Angelos Kovalid; 4) Duka veled-i Drosino; 5) Sinadino Kidonat; 6) Manol Paskal; 7) Angelos İvladimir; 8) Krebun birader-i o; 9) Kalotid birader-i o; 10) Yorg Godibar; 11) Zagorino Gurna; 12) Hrisanid birader-i o; 13) Kosta Klonar; 14) Yani Klonar; 15) Manol birader-i o; 16) Yani veled-i Leruti; 17) Yani veled-i Baruça; 18) Mihal Kiroman; 19) Amarando veled-i Papa Tolo[go]; 20) Dimitri; 21) Yorg Goni; 22) Yani Meryot; 23) Papas Todor; 24) Yorg Neçur (?); 25) Yani Kamenno; 26) Todor veled-i Kamenno; 27) Manol Neçur (?); 28) Yorg İfrosina; 29) Manol Kraçiman (?); 30) Todoras; 31) Kromid; 32) Hristodul Kromid; 33) Yani veled-i Vogrihira; 34) Kosta veled-i Papoy; 35) Dimitri Valar; 36) Yorg Kuledo; 37) Yorg Mamul; 38) Dimo birader-i o; 39) Dimitri Çukala; 40) Papas Komnanno; 41) Yorg Liko; 42) Papas Ahirat; 43) Papas Çokyanıl; 44) Hristodul Çokyanıl; 45) Miho veled-i Lagoçuka; 46) Kosta veled-i Ptano; 47) Angelos Simo; 48) Sinahiri Kimina; 49) Kosta birader-i Hristodul; 50) Manol birader-i o; 51) Yorg birader-i o; 52) Yani veled-i Komaniç; 53) Yorg Pelekan; 54) Andraniko; 55) Yani veled-i İvlas; 56) Diyasid; 57) Yorg [veled-i] Papa Duka; 58) Atanas birader-i o; 59) Komnanno Konomo; 60) Kranot; 61) Mantos; 62) Nestor Karoslidi; 63) Papas Makelar; 64) Nestor terzi; 65) Todor veled-i Çukala;

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1) Papas Hristodul; 2) Hraça; 3) Simon; 4) Mihal veled-i Mano; 5) Haziba; 6) Kosta veled-i o; 7) Angelos birader-i o; 8) Mihal Kloksonid; 9) Yorg birader-i o; 10) Yorg Sobra; 11) Kosta Brota; 12) Yorg Brota; 13) Paplos; 14) Dimitri Kalofiro; 15) Dimitri Nestor; 16) Todor Mihal; 17) Papas Mihal; 18) Yorg Komborihti; 19) Sinahiri; 20) Yorg Semaçun; 21) Mihal Prehdir; 22) Mihal Perdikal; 23) Kosta Kaliç; 24) Hristodul Kaliç;

25) Dimo Hrisof; 26) Svetin; 27) Mihal veled-i o; 28) Yani Glavina; 29) Dimos Semahoti; 30) Vranon (?) Foka; 31) Papas Bakan; 32) Dimitri Prado; 33) Todoris Drosino; 34) Dimo birader-i Todor; 35) Aleksi birader-i o; 36) Yorg Heritas; 37) Mihal Hrisoho; 38) Yani Koçan; 39) Dimo veled-i Kaliç; 40) Yani Perdikar; 41) İliya birader-i o; 42) Mihal; 43) Kosta birader-i o; 44) Manol Ma[r]garid; 45) Hristodul Kerperi; 46) Melisino; 47) Lanbrino veled-i o; 48) Dimo birader-i o; 49) İstavrino Virano; 50) Kiryakos Adrahta; 51) Papas Spano; 52) Apostol Marmara; 53) Yani birader-i o; 54) Todor birader-i o; 55) Muncano; 56) Yani veled-i Papa Rudil; 57) İkseno; 58) Yorg [veled-i] Papa Dobri; 59) Manol veled-i İpşara; 60) Hristodul İvlaydiri; 61) Çorak peder-i Todor; 62) Todor veled-i [vacat]; 63) Todor Stuki; 64) Yani İskeda; 65) Mihal veled-i Balaban;

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1) Dimitri İvlando; 2) Yorg birader-i o; 3) Piskifiti birader-i o; 4) Manol birader-i o; 5) Todor Marin; 6) Aleksi Kaliç; 7) Dimo birader-i o; 8) Yorg Armeni; 9) Yorg Fatma (?); 10) Dimo birader-i o; 11) Yani Filomuto; 12) Kosta Kiryazi; 13) Korfazlu Dreçino; 14) Manol Trekal (?); 15) Manol Vlahuto; 16) İvlaherno Manol; 17) Yorg Ligera; 18) Yorg Kaloyari; 19) Yani; 20) Yorg İvlaci; 21) Yani Kiryako; 22) Nikola Yorg; 23) Dimos Sarandi; 24) Yorg birader-i o; 25) Kosta veled-i Dobroya; 26) Todor birader-i o; 27) Yani birader-i Todor; 28) Yani Meselya; 29) Dimitri Bola; 30) Mihal Hregas; 31) Dimo veled-i İstano; 32) Yorg birader-i o; 33) Mihal İstano; 34) Fotinos; 35) Yorg birader-i o; 36) Dimo birader-i o; 37) Yani veled-i Dobri; 38) Todor birader-i o; 39) Kosta birader-i o; 40) İstavrino; 41) İvreta (Akrita) veled-i İstavrino; 42) Yorg Hubav; 43) Yorg Ulerino; 44) Diyaso birader-i o; 45) Aleksi; 46) Manol birader-i o; 47) Uzgur; 48) Panayot Uzgur;

49) Yorg birader-i o; 50) Yani veled-i Ulerino; 51) Yorg Voyla; 52) Yani veled-i Mavrofor; 53) Yani İstano; 54) Yani Kuço; 55) Yani veled-i Sinorini; 56) Dimo veled-i Kosta; 57) Fotino Anasto; 58) Hristodul Lev; 59) Kosta Makelar; 60) Yani Yorg; 61) Mladino Sikar; 62) Todor veled-i Kefala; 63) Yani Murkovo; 64) Papas Kiryak; 65) Todor veled-i Ayalar;

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1) Kosta birader-i o; 2) Manol Dragan; 3) Yorg Manol; 4) Dragan Todor; 5) Sinahiri Kiryaka; 6) Papas Vatac; 7) Yani Branila; 8) Mihal Yako; 9) Duka Yako; 10) Mamino veled-i Drayko; 11) Manol Çuri; 12) Yani Armata; 13) Todor; 14) Manol Vitaryot; 15) Yani birader-i Manol; 16) Dimo Mohayil; 17) Yani Kaleka; 18) Miho veled-i Hristodul; 19) Yani birader-i o; 20) Panayot Romano; 21) Mihal veled-i o; 22) Yorg Kalandil; 23) Dimo veled-i Yorg; 24) Dimo veled-i Moranid; 25) Yorg Karahala; 26) Putoş; 27) Papas Simina; 28) Papas Manol; 29) bive Sinadini; 30) bive İksatika; 31) bive Maro; 32) bive Sofiya; 33) bive Dimitro; 34) bive Filiyot; 35) bive İksamina (?); 36) bive Dimitro; 37) bive Maro [zen-i] İliyas; 38) bive ... zen-i Paskal; 39) bive Mariya zen-i Randoya; 40) bive Fotini; 41) bive İlena; 42) bive Tamari; 43) bive Mariya; 44) bive ... [zen-i] İspilyod; 45) bive İrina; 46) bive Todora [zen-i] Hubav; 47) bive Kali; 48) bive Todora; 49) bive Paraskeva; 50) İksato veled-i Vasil; 51) bive Kalista [zen-i] Petaro; 52) bive ... [zen-i] Todor; 53) bive İrina; 54) bive Maro; 55) bive Mariya; 56) bive Yuro; 57) bive Tamar; 58) bive Kali zen-i Bahrila; 59) bive Mariya; 60) bive Mariya zen-i Brando; 61) bive Sofiya; 62) bive Yuro; 63) bive Todora; 64) bive Baharo (?); 65) bive Kigra (?);

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1) bive Hristodulina; 2) bive Todora; 3) bive İfr[os]ina; 4) bive Maro; 5) bive Detremira (?); 6) bive Raduha; 7) bive İvdika; 8) bive Todora; 9) bive Yuro [zen-i] Korda; 10) bive Mara; 11) bive Maro [zen-i] Postal; 12) bive Kali [zen-i] Kaloyir; 13) bive Kaloyir[a]; 14) bive Zagorini; 15) bive Kali; 16) bive Yuro; 17) bive Seryani; 18) bive Yura; 19) bive Todora; 20) bive İstamo; 21) bive İrina; 22) bive Kosteni; 23) bive Kali zen-i İstilyano; 24) bive Mahrina; 25) bive Todora [zen-i] Malayno; 26) bive İrina zen-i Papa Todor; 27) bive Maro [zen-i] Yorg; 28) bive Yura [zen-i] Hramira; 29) bive Yura; 30) bive İmyak (?); 31) bive İvdika; 32) bive Laskarina; 33) bive Maro [zen-i] Kalodik; 34) bive Todora; 35) bive Maro [zen-i] Kefala; 36) bive Kali [zen-i] Bogdan; 37) bive Mariya [zen-i] İvlah; 38) bive Yuro [zen-i] İvlah; 39) bive Maro; 40) bive Todora [zen-i] Kerila; 41) bive ... [zen-i] Papa [Ni]kola; 42) bive Maro; 43) bive Todora [zen-i] Posomino; 44) bive Todora; 45) bive Anastaso [zen-i] Lapa; 46) bive Kali [zen-i] Kopaç; 47) bive Melisarina [zen-i] Marin; 48) bive Todora [zen-i] Perdani (?); 49) bive İfrosina; 50) bive Diyasid; 51) bive Maro zen-i Papa; 52) bive Maro zen-i Papa Poti; 53) bive Gyon zen-i Drosino; 54) bive İfrosina; 55) bive Sinadino; 56) bive İrina [zen-i] Liko; 57) bive İstamo; 58) bive İvdika [zen-i] Parolina; 59) bive Todora; 60) bive Kali [zen-i] Kinamiya; 61) bive Yura [zen-i] Kazami; 62) bive Maro; 63) bive İrina; 64) bive İrina zen-i Hristodul; 65) bive İrina zen-i Mavrosimina;

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1) bive İrina; 2) bive ... [zen-i] Kir Mantos; 3) bive Todora; 4) bive İvdika; 5) bive Kostena; 6) bive Kostanda; 7) bive Yana [zen-i] Atanas; 8) Yani Kimina; 9) Glavas [veled-i] Papa Tologo; 10) bive İrina; 11) bive Hristodulina; 12) bive İvdika [zen-i] Mitiç; 13) bive Maro [zen-i] Duylya; 14) bive İspartini; 15) bive (?) [zen-i] Uzgur; 16)

bive Glavo; 17) bive İrina zen-i Seryot; 18) bive Mariya [zen-i] Papa Todor; 19) bive İksati; 20) bive Angelina; 21) bive Maro; 22) bive İvdika; 23) bive İrina; 24) bive Kalina; 25) bive Todor [zen-i] Hubano (Çopano); 26) bive Kali [zen-i] Margelid; 27) bive Kali; 28) bive İvdika [zen-i] İpsara; 29) bive Mavrangelina; 30) bive Mariya; 31) bive Yura; 32) bive Maro [zen-i] Çarap; 33) bive (?); 34) bive Kali; 35) bive İstamo; 36) bive Todor [zen-i] Uzgur; 37) bive Yura [zen-i] Dipla; 38) bive Yura [zen-i] Vitaryot; 39) bive İrina [zen-i] Reçina; 40) bive Kali [zen-i] Çuri; 41) bive İvdika; 42) bive İrina; 43) bive Piskifita; 44) bive Kurtak; 45) bive Klotina; 46) bive Maro; 47) Yani Hristodul; 48) Yorg İvladimir; 49) Todoris Ceftani; 50) Kosta Kavilari; 51) Dimos Kurbayani;

1) hinta: 357 kile, 8925;

2) şa'ir: 160 kile, 2450;

3) dühne: 20 kile, 250;

4) çavdar: 1 kile, 12;

5) yulâf: 80 kile, 875;

6) bakla: 7.5 kile, 300;

7) mercimek ve böğrülçe: 9 kile, 360;

8) kettan: 48;

9) penbe: 460;

10) zaferan: 10;

11) 'öşr-i bostan: 218;

12) 'öşr-i ceviz: 25;

13) tut: 150;

14) 'öşr-i meyva: 82;

15) ‘öşr-i kovan: 220;

16) resm-i kiremid: 80;

17) ‘öşr-i bağat: 2000;

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18) resm-i hıncır: 204;

19) ispençe: 11423;

hane: 395 mücerred: 20 bive: 148 [the actual sum is 401 *hane*, 20 *mücerred*, 145 *bive*]

hasıl: otuz üç bin üç yuz on yedi akça [the actual result of the addition is 33092]

...

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Der nefis-i Zihne azadegân-i merhum Gazi Hudavendigâr tabeserahû in ast ki bekalam
and

[In Zichna itself, freed slaves of the deceased Gazi Hudavendigâr, may he rest in peace,
these are who are said] :

1) Manol Makelar mücerred; 2) Belacikalid (?) mücerred; 3) Duka veled-i Singelo mücerred; 4) Papas [A]ngelos mücerred; 5) Kaplo Maher (?) mücerred; 6) Sinahiri Vasiliko mücerred; 7) Vasiliko Sinahiri mücerred; 8) Papa Lug Vasiliko mücerred; 9) Sinahiri Vasiliko mücerred; 10) Arişti Tekremir mücerred; 11) Sinadino Gruç mücerred; 12) Yorg veled-i Bilman mücerred; 13) Sinahiri birader-i o mücerred; 14) Manol birader-i o mücerred; 15) Duka birader-i o mücerred; 16) Gogos veled-i Balyan mücerred; 17) Balyan veled-i Duka mücerred; 18) Sinadino veled-i Balyan mücerred; 19) Angelos veled-i Mihal mücerred; 20) Manol veled-i Desura mücerred; 21) İvrana veled-i Dasko mücerred; 22) Duka veled-i İvrana mücerred; 23) Mihal veled-i Papa Vasil; 24) Vasil

Dimitri [veled-i] Papa Vasil mücerred; 25) Kardam damad-i Kalodik mücerred; 26) Komnino veled-i o mücerred; 27) Gogo birader-i o mücerred;

Bu dört nefer kafirleri Umur Beğ defterde azadlı bulduk amma ellerinde paşamız'ın hükm-i humayun bulmak bunlardır ki zikr [olunur]

[these four infidels are found in the defter of Umur Beğ as freed slaves, nevertheless they have in their hands imperial edicts by our *paşa*, these are who are mentioned (below)] :

1) Yorg Duka mücerred; 2) Dimo veled-i Duka mücerred; 3) Miha1 birader-i Dimo mücerred; 4) Papas Sinahiri Duka mücerred;

Manastir-i Medrapolid elinde sultanımız['ın] berat vardır

["monastery" of the metropolitan, he holds in his hands a patent by our sultan]

- 1) bağ: hasıl 1000;
 - 2) 30 zeytin: hasıl 200;
 - 3) asiyab: hasıl 225;
 - 4) resm-i kiremidlik: 140;
 - 5) kilise-i Ayo Dimitri: hasıl 20;
 - 6) kilise-i Ayo Marina: 60;
 - 7) kilise-i Ayo Tra: 10;
 - 8) kilise-i Ayo Kostadin: 20;
- hasıl: bin altı yuz yetmiş akça

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Vilayet-i Zihne

Hasha-i hazret Mehmed Paşa dam ikbalahu

[fiscal domains of his excellency Mehmed Paşa may his prosperity last]

Nefs-i Zihne

Müslim[ân]

1) İskender mikremci; 2) Mustafa mikremci; 3) Mehmed hallaç; 4) Kasım; 5) Zaganos; 6) Aydın veled-i Muzzafer; 7) Kasım veled-i o; 8) Hızır hallaç; 9) Seydi hallaç; 10) İnebeği; 11) Şuca hallaç; 12) İbrahim veled-i o; 13) Umur veled-i o; 14) Aydın veled-i Abdullah; 15) Fermude Hızır; 16) Mehmed hallaç; 17) İskender; 18) Karagöz; 19) Mustafa hallaç; 20) Samir azade-i Sinkür; 21) Ahmed Siyah; 22) İbrahim azade-i Sinkür; 23) Kasım azade-i kadı; 24) Nesuh azade-i kadı; 25) Şirmerd Küçük; 26) Hüseyin hayyat; 27) Kara Mezak; 28) Timurhan; 29) Mehmed veled-i o; 30) Karagöz veled-i Abdullah; 31) Yusuf veled-i hallaç; 32) Ali veled-i Yusuf; 33) Ömer birader-i o; 34) Mustafa veled-i Turahan; 35) Hasan birader-i Mehmed; 36) Yusuf hallaç;

hane: 32 mücerred: 4

Gebr[ân]

Mahalle-i PapaTodor ... Papa Lukanos

1) mezkur; 2) Yorgi Gobra; 3) Kiryako veled-i Gobra; 4) Piskifiti veled-i Lagodondi; 5) Apostol Marmara; 6) Dimo veled-i Marmara; 7) Yorgi veled-i Mavromad; 8) Yorgi veled-i Mavrakid; 9) Laluka; 10) Çeprinos; 11) Argiro veled-i Çeprin; 12) Mihal veled-i Karavid; 13) Kiryako veled-i Klavar; 14) Mantaras; 15) Kostas veled-i o; 16) Yani veled-i Marin; 17) Ahirati; 18) Kosta veled-i Ahirati; 19) Piskifiti veled-i

Kosuda; 20) Mihal veled-i Kakokinati; 21) Aleksi veled-i Kakokinati; 22) Dimo veled-i mezkur; 23) Kosta veled-i Kaçuro; 24) Todor veled-i Petko; 25) Manol veled-i Koçolit; 26) Yorgi veled-i Yani; 27) Argiro veled-i Bogdanina; 28) Kaliman; 29) Kiryako veled-i Kaliman; 30) Todor veled-i Yani; 31) Yorgi veled-i Yani; 32) Kiryako veled-i Çukala; 33) Dimo veled-i Psata; 34) Kiryako veled-i Hubala; 35) Aleksi veled-i Bala; 36) Yorgi veled-i Bala;

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37) Yani veled-i Komborihti; 38) Vasilikos veled-i o; 39) Karambot İksatas; 40) Dimo veled-i Gunar; 41) Dimo veled-i Androniko; 42) Dimo veled-i Kiryazi; 43) Yorgi veled-i Konto; 44) Manol veled-i Halaza; 45) Kosta veled-i İvlas; 46) Manol veled-i Selâniki; 47) Hristodul veled-i Selâniki; 48) Stuka veled-i Sabuca; 49) Yorgi veled-i Dimo; 50) bive ... [zen-i] Gubra; 51) bive Maro [zen-i] Koraki; 52) bive ... [zen-i] Kazano; 53) bive ... [zen-i] İksaki; 54) bive ... [zen-i] Hilovar; 55) bive ... [zen-i] Bala; 56) bive ... [zen-i] Yovan; 57) bive ... [zen-i] Yanko; 58) bive ... [zen-i] Bogdanina; 59) bive Fotini; 60) bive İksati; 61) bive İspilo; 62) bive ... [zen-i] Sabuca; 63) bive ... [zen-i] Kiryazi; 64) bive Pahulo; 65) bive Maro [zen-i] Banihto; hane: 47 mücerred: 2 bive: 2 [to be corrected to bive: 16]

Mahalle-i Papas Vasranid

1) mezkur; 2) Todor veled-i Androniko; 3) Kosma Androniko; 4) Yani veled-i Sergada; 5) Yorgi veled-i Şevza; 6) Tomas; 7) Kulos; 8) Leyoş; 9) Gunaralantos; 10) İstasino veled-i Selâniki; 11) Danas veled-i o; 12) Dimo veled-i Selâniki; 13) Lambo Selâniki; 14) Hristodul Belkano; 15) Dimo veled-i Lankadi; 16) Limuras; 17) Yorgi veled-i Limuras; 18) Manol veled-i Zarko; 19) Dimo veled-i Kaçolid; 20) bive ... [zen-i] Androniko; 21) bive ... [zen-i] Mihal Papa; 22) bive Todora; 23) bive ... [zen-i] Barka; 24) bive ... [zen-i] Selâniki; 25) bive ... [zen-i] Sergada; 26) bive İstilyani;

27) bive ... [zen-i] Sanbati; 28) bive Fotini; 29) bive Yuro; 30) bive ... [zen-i] Kipuro; 31) bive ... [zen-i] Zarko;

hane: 19 bive: 12

Mahalle-i Papas Patira

1) mezkur; 2) Yani veled-i Dramino; 3) İspilyot veled-i Dramino; 4) Manol veled-i Karbunut; 5) Rakanos; 6) Yorgi veled-i Kostandin; 7) Dimo veled-i Kostandin; 8) Yabulas; 9) Yani veled-i Yabulas; 10) Kosta veled-i Huzdo; 11) Haritos; 12) Mihal veled-i Mesopotamos; 13) Yorgi veled-i Kara Bali; 14) Piskifiti veled-i Kulaniç; 15) Yorgi veled-i o; 16) Nikola veled-i Kuloplatti; 17) Kosta veled-i Hrisoho; 18) İvdokimos;

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19) Yorgi veled-i Salva; 20) Mihal veled-i Kondorop; 21) Ostirinos; 22) Lazaris; 23) Dimo veled-i Panayot; 24) Stuki veled-i Protomastori; 25) Mandraminos; 26) Hristodul Panayot; 27) Komninos Mandramino; 28) Kaslahitos (?) Mandramino; 29) Mihal veled-i Papaduri; 30) İksatos Papaduri; 31) Kalusto İvladimiro; 32) Kurukis; 33) Hamodobris; 34) Angelos Kraspasas; 35) Mihal Magapsa; 36) Yorgi veled-i Magapsa; 37) Kiryako veled-i Magapsa; 38) Dimo veled-i Magapsa; 39) Kirmiyot; 40) Melisinos; 41) Piskifiti; 42) Mihal Sabaniya; 43) Agatominos; 44) bive İstorika; 45) bive ... [zen-i] Bosaki; 46) bive ... [zen-i] Kirbuhyt; 47) bive ... [zen-i] Makriba; 48) bive Makarina; 49) bive Karambalina; 50) bive Muskuro; 51) bive Hayko; 52) bive İriki; 53) bive ... [zen-i] Protomasto(ra); 54) bive Baydimi (?); 55) bive Ostrika; 56) bive Kulanbaçiya; 57) bive Harito; 58) bive Kondobayniya; 59) bive Todora; 60) bive ... [zen-i] Kondoropi; 61) bive Nikolo; 62) bive Katari; 63) bive ... [zen-i] Bosaki; 64) bive Galabina; 65) bive Yelena; 66) bive Kali;

hane: 43 bive: 23

Mahalle-i Papa Hirat

1) mezkur; 2) Piskifiti Kostanda; 3) Angelos Glava; 4) Kidonyat veled-i Sinadino; 5) bive ... [zen-] Kostanda; 6) bive ... [zen-i] Glava;

hane: 4 bive: 2

Mahalle-i Papas Droşino

1) mezkur; 2) Pantos Kapedan; 3) İsfelinotis; 4) Atanas Papaduri; 5) Dimo veled-i Diyasidi; 6) Virminas; 7) Dimo veled-i Vahralit; 8) Dimo veled-i Papaduri; 9) Samaras; 10) Nestor; 11) Komanetas; 12) Pantos veled-i Pinbo; 13) Hristodul veled-i Çaknambal; 14) Vranas Komnino; 15) Nikola veled-i İksenos; 16) Laguçikos; 17) Kamaturos; 18) Kosta Çaknambilis; 19) Dimo veled-i o; 20) Manol veled-i Çaknambili; 21) bive Rika; 22) bive Gano; 23) bive Yuro; 24) bive Bilo; 25) bive ... [zen-i] Selâniki; 26) bive ... [zen-i] Papaduri; 27) bive ... [zen-i] Diyasidi; 28) bive ... [zen-i] Selyot; 29) bive ... [zen-i] Komnino;

hane: 20 bive: 9

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Mahalle-i Papa Gazi

1) mezkur; 2) Papas Komnino; 3) Yorgi Filoksanit; 4) Manol veled-i o; 5) Babila; 6) Pradinyot veled-i Babila; 7) Foka veled-i Yorgi; 8) İliyas veled-i Perdikar; 9) Yorgi Lavranas; 10) Ankonos Sotira; 11) Dingos; 12) Lazar; 13) Angelos Gazi; 14) Ankono Simo; 15) Duka veled-i Papa Gazi; 16) Yorgi veled-i Papa Gazi; 17) Papas Duri; 18) Yani veled-i Misato; 19) Yorgi veled-i Yani; 20) Yani veled-i Skada; 21) Yorgi veled-i Plikano; 22) Tavlandar; 23) Kosta Kuri; 24) [A]tanas veled-i Arika; 25) Kosta veled-i Perdikari; 26) Androniko Kir Yanuli; 27) Dimos veled-i Kalusto; 28) Hristodul veled-i Perdikar; 29) İksenos; 30) Yani veled-i gambro-i İkseno; 31) Mihal veled-i Hristofo[r]; 32) Sinahris veled-i Papa Vatac; 33) Nestor Turaki; 34) Yani

veled-i Hobati; 35) Yorgi veled-i Huva Marmara; 36) Kosiya veled-i Marmara; 37) Nestor Marnelo; 38) Mihal Protoyur; 39) Yani veled-i Papa Radik; 40) Yani veled-i Kuvar; 41) Kokonis; 42) Lambrinos; 43) Kosta Karteri; 44) Yani veled-i Milço; 45) Dimo veled-i Papa Komnino; 46) bive İksati; 47) bive Kuvazo; 48) bive Tempa (?); 49) bive Maro; 50) bive İrina; 51) bive Pastelo; 52) bive ... [zen-i] Lavrano; 53) bive ... [zen-i] Honyato; 54) bive Hristodulina; 55) bive ... [zen-i] Çuraki; 56) bive ... [zen-i] Komnino; 57) bive Magdili; 58) bive Maryaro; 59) bive Mavradilina;

hane: 45 bive: 14

Mahalle-i Papas Muzalos baca-i Papas Angelos

1) mezkur; 2) Yorgi veled-i Komborihti; 3) Hristodul Sotira; 4) Sinagabri Atasyani; 5) Yani veled-i Samiya; 6) İstavrinis Plonar; 7) Manol veled-i İvlaz; 8) Tofilah; 9) Papas Yani; 10) Kir Yorgi Foka; 11) Manol Sinahiro; 12) Dimo veled-i Hrisofo; 13) Yorgi veled-i Samuhot; 14) Vasilikos Bala; 15) Mihal Sotir; 16) Dimo veled-i Samuhoni; 17) Dimo veled-i Kir Sofo; 18) Yoz veled-i Yorgi; 19) Dimo veled-i İkseno; 20) ... veled-i Kamariht; 21) bive ... [zen-i] Mihal; 22) bive ... [zen-i] İsfelinot; 23) bive ... [zen-i] Todor; 24) bive İksati;

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25) bive ... [zen-i] Vahramiti; 26) bive ... [zen-i] Papa Biho; 27) bive ... [zen-i] Glava; 28) bive ... [zen-i] Mihal Harami;

hane: 20 bive: 8

Mahalle-i Papa Şinahiri

1) mezkur; 2) Manol Stuki; 3) Mantos veled-i Palatyano; 4) Yani veled-i Maryolaka; 5) Zagorino; 6) Yorgi veled-i o; 7) Pinos; 8) Manol veled-i Klovari; 9) Manol veled-i mezkur; 10) Viratuni veled-i İvladimiro; 11) Mastokis; 12) Atanas Palatyano; 13) Yorgi veled-i Glavana; 14) Yani veled-i Klovari; 15) Atanas veled-i İzgonar; 16) Yani

veled-i Kalotino; 17) Manol veled-i Maruhta; 18) Manol veled-i Paskali; 19) Sinadinos; 20) İglava veled-i Sinadino; 21) Yani veled-i Sapyan; 22) Syabos veled-i Komnino; 23) Murak veled-i mezkur Syabos; 24) Duka veled-i Komnino-i mezkur; 25) Palatyano [Dr]amino; 26) bive ... [zen-i] Pastela; 27) bive ... [zen-i] Kolivari; 28) bive İfranciya; 29) bive ... [zen-i] Maruhta; 30) bive ... [zen-i] Marino; 31) bive ... [zen-i] Gurali; 32) bive ... [zen-i] İvladimiro; 33) bive ... [zen-i] Papa Aleksi; 34) bive ... [zen-i] Gunar;

hane: 25 bive: 9

Mahalle-i Papas Yani Hartofila

1) mezkur; 2) Yani veled-i Maho; 3) Mihal veled-i Maho; 4) Yorgi veled-i Todor; 5) İfrosino; 6) Manol veled-i Karimaçino; 7) Apostol veled-i mezkur; 8) Yorgi veled-i Fotis; 9) Todor Bahula; 10) Dimo veled-i Çukala; 11) Hristodul veled-i Kala; 12) Dimo veled-i Stuki; 13) Yorgi veled-i Lefa; 14) Aristi; 15) Duka veled-i Aristi; 16) Manol veled-i Lefa; 17) Palologoz veled-i Manol; 18) Papas veled-i Mahnos (?); 19) Papas veled-i Manol; 20) Filo veled-i Papa Manol; 21) Yorgi veled-i Kidonat; 22) Hristodul Kidonat; 23) bive ... (?); 24) bive Mihalo; 25) bive ... [zen-i] Todoro; 26) bive ... [zen-i] Krasovasil; 27) Manol veled-i Kidonat;

hane: 23 bive: 4

Mahalle-i Papas Angelos

1) mezkur; 2) İstasino veled-i İstanboya; 3) Kiryazi İstanboya; 4) Kurkas veled-i Mavromat; 5) Manol veled-i Melisino; 6) Manol veled-i Miludina;

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7) İspilyot veled-i Hlara; 8) Yani veled-i İksatyot; 9) Kosta veled-i Androniko; 10) Dimo veled-i Kurumbal; 11) Yani veled-i mezkur; 12) Yorgi veled-i Kurumbal; 13) bive ... [zen-i] İksatyot; 14) bive ... [zen-i] Yani; 15) bive ... [zen-i] Halara; 16) bive

... [zen-i] Sekbar; 17) bive ... [zen-i] Kavenç; 18) bive ... [zen-i] Kurumbal; 19) bive
... [zen-i] Sopilo;

hane: 12 bive: 7

Mahalle-i Papas Kurtik

1) mezkur; 2) Mihal veled-i Toloyit; 3) Palologoz Atanas; 4) Yorgi veled-i Apostol;
5) Klomenos; 6) Yorgi veled-i Hristof[r]; 7) Dimo veled-i Apostol; 8) Manol veled-i
Piskifiti; 9) Dimo veled-i Yorgi; 10) bive Yuro; 11) bive ... [zen-i] Piskifiti; 12) bive
... [zen-i] Kosta; 13) Yorgi veled-i Piskifiti;

hane: 10 bive: 3

Mahalle-i Papas Vatac

1) mezkur; 2) Manol veled-i Kalusto; 3) Mazmilas; 4) Drosinos; 5) İkseno veled-i
Fotino; 6) Manol veled-i Azab; 7) Manol veled-i Manciz; 8) Yorgi veled-i Manciz; 9)
Manol İvlahoz; 10) Yorgi veled-i Abramicaz; 11) Toharis veled-i Karambot; 12)
Duka veled-i Amasyanos; 13) Sinad[in]os Gavata; 14) Manol veled-i Luzan; 15)
Yorgi veled-i Çaknambar; 16) Todor veled-i Karloçyot; 17) Yanī veled-i Gavatat; 18)
Kosta Gavata; 19) Frank veled-i Gavata; 20) Yorgi veled-i İspanos; 21) Dimos veled-i
İspanos; 22) bive ... [zen-i] Kidonat; 23) bive ... [zen-i] Hīnato; 24) bive Atanasiya;
25) bive Todora; 26) bive ... [zen-i] Karambot;

hane: 21 bive: 5

Mahalle-i Papa Todoros

1) mezkur; 2) Dimo veled-i Fotinos; 3) Paminos veled-i Fotino; 4) Aleksī Yustoligra;
5) Vasralid; 6) Papas Arman; 7) bive ... [zen-i] Vazralid;

hane: 6 bive: 1

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Mahalle-i Horhošta

1) Yanuka; 2) Yorgi veled-i mezkur; 3) Toma veled-i mezkur; 4) Yani veled-i Kulubana; 5) Yorgi veled-i Franci; 6) Yani veled-i Çoplo; 7) Kiryako veled-i mezkur; 8) Maragas; 9) Yani veled-i Uzgur; 10) Yorgi veled-i Umur Beğ; 11) Aleksi veled-i Umur Beğ; 12) Manol veled-i Umur Beğ; 13) Kosyana; 14) Yani veled-i İkseno; 15) Yorgi veled-i İvrandi; 16) Dimo veled-i o; 17) Kiryako veled-i o; 18) Dingo veled-i mezkur; 19) Malgarit; 20) İvrana; 21) İstavrinos; 22) Kosta veled-i Dobra; 23) Panayot veled-i Dobra; 24) Todor veled-i Dobra; 25) Yorgi veled-i Dobra; 26) Fotinos; 27) Diyaso veled-i Fotino; 28) Yorgi veled-i Boyle; 29) Dimo veled-i Fotino; 30) Miho veled-i İstano; 31) Miho veled-i Çernat; 32) Yorgi veled-i İstano; 33) Kiryako veled-i İstano; 34) Yorgi veled-i Boyle; 35) Mina; 36) Kosta veled-i Dobro; 37) Todor veled-i Dobra; 38) Argiros veled-i Dobro; 39) Panayot veled-i Dobro; 40) Dimo veled-i Sinariti; 41) Yani veled-i Sinariti; 42) Simo veled-i Sinariti; 43) Yorgi veled-i Moço; 44) bive ... [zen-i] Umur Beğ; 45) bive ... [zen-i] Uzgur; 46) bive Boblava; 47) bive Rika;

hane: 43 bive: 4

Mahalle-i Tolo

1) Radiç; 2) Kiriç; 3) Tofilah; 4) Dimo veled-i Brayla; 5) Mihal veled-i Yanita; 6) Kiryako veled-i Vinaryot; 7) Armatos; 8) Yani veled-i Dragan; 9) Todor veled-i Dragan; 10) İstamad veled-i Pot; 11) Duka veled-i Kiriç; 12) Dimo veled-i Ayalaryot; 13) Manol veled-i Brayla; 14) Dimo veled-i Moranid; 15) Maminos; 16) Todor veled-i Armata; 17) İstavrino veled-i Dragan; 18) Magariç; 19) Papila veled-i Kiriç; 20) Yani veled-i Çuri; 21) Todor veled-i Mihal; 22) Dimo veled-i Prigonas; 23) Yorgi veled-i Dragan; 24) Mamino veled-i o; 25) Yani veled-i Pot; 26) Yani veled-i Mandil; 27) [To]filaht veled-i [vacat]; 28) Kiryazi veled-i İvlaho; 29) bive ... [zen-i] Kakalar;

30) bive ... [zen-i] Kalçur; 31) bive ... [zen-i] Glava; 32) bive ... [zen-i] Brayla; 33) bive ... [zen-i] Ancar; 34) bive ... [zen-i] Potgoya; 35) bive ... [zen-i] Vinaryot; 36) bive ... [zen-i] Mandil;

hane: 28 bive: 8

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Cema'at-i reaya ki müteferrikdir, gayr köylerde sakin olmuşlardır

[group of the subjects who are separated and have been dwelling in other villages]

1) Kako; 2) Nikola veled-i Romani; 3) Avgusto veled-i Fatomi; 4) Yani veled-i Kandan; 5) Ulahrinos; 6) Yani veled-i Filomuto; 7) Todor veled-i Marmara; 8) Şinahros Papa Kimisa; 9) Dimo veled-i Kaço; 10) Avlinos; 11) Mihal veled-i Armeni; 12) Kürk veled-i Alonar; 13) Alisaf; 14) Yorgi veled-i Hlomuto; 15) Kozmas; 16) Piskifiti veled-i Varnaka; 17) Yorgi veled-i Armeni; 18) Todor veled-i Armeni; 19) Çamandos Dipan; 20) Yani veled-i Moryanid; 21) İstamad veled-i Filomuto; 22) [vacat] veled-i Sinahiri; 23) bive ... [zen-i] Filomuto; 24) bive ... [zen-i] Potoya;

hane: 22 bive: 2

Yekûn: hane-i Müslim 32, mücerred 4, hane-i Gebr 390, mücerred, bive 128

[the actual number for the Christians is 388 hane, 2 mücerred and 127 bive]

1) gendüm: 100 mud, 12000;

2) cev: 70 mud, 4200;

3) yulâf: 30 mud, 1500;

4) gavers: 4 mud, 240;

5) mercimek: 1 mud 10 kile, 300;

6) böğrülce: 4 mud, 480;

7) bakla: 14 kile, 70;

8) merdümek: 5 kile, 15;

- 9) susam (?): 5 kile, 40;
- 10) burçak ... (?): 200;
- 11) 'öşr-i ceviz: 1 mud 3 kile, 115;
- 12) zeytin: 11 kile, 128;
- 13) penbe: 250 lidre, 1000;
- 14) zaferan: 3 lidre, 390;
- 15) berg-i tut: 300;
- 16) resm-i hınzır: 400;
- 17) resm-i kovan: 200;
- 18) resm-i kerevet: 300;
- 19) bostan: 300;
- 20) 'öşr-i meyva: 500;
- 21) 'öşr-i belut: 200;
- 22) 7 asiyab: 330;
- 23) 'öşr-i şıra-i Gebrân: 12000;
- 24) 'öşr-i bağ-i Müslimanân: 1750;
- 25) monopoliye: 3000;
- 26) resm-i ...(?): 1000;
- 27) resm-i gâh ve kettan: 500;
- 28) mukata'a-i zemin-i ... (?) Mehmed Beğ ... (?): 500;
- 29) niyabet ve resm-i arus ve bac: 6500;
- 30) ispençe: 10506;
- hasıl: 69966

Cema'at-i azadegân-i hazret merhum mağfur Gazi Hudavendigâr tabeserahü

1) Belacikalih Kir Manol; 2) Duka Singelo; 3) Filomad; 4) Aristi; 5) Şeytan veled-i Duka; 6) Duka veled-i ... (?); 7) İvrana Drosino; 8) Duka Vrana; 9) Mihal [veled-i] Papas Vasil; 10) Vasil veled-i Papa Dimitri; 11) Komnino Kardama; 12) Duka Kardama;

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13) Angelos veled-i Yorgi; 14) Şinahiri birader-i Vasiliko Papa Lug; 15) Vatac veled-i Komnino; 16) Duka veled-i Komnino; 17) Vasilikos;

hane: 17

Manastir-i Medrapolid Dyonis

- 1) bağ: hasıl 1000;
- 2) 30 zeytin: 200;
- 3) asiyab: hasıl 250;
- 4) resm-i kiremidlik: 200;
- 5) Kilise-i Ayo Dimitri: 30;
- 6) Kilise-i Ayo Marin[a]: 70;
- 7) Kilise-i Ayo Yorgi;
- 8) Kilise-i Ayo Kostandin: 50;
- 9) Kilise-i Lasko, haric ez defter: hasıl-i panayir 40;

Yekûn: 1870

TTD-7

[p. 217 - l. 6]

Cema'at-i tuzcuyân, ellerinde ferman-i hümayun var ki ıkraların 'öşr verirler ve 'avarizden muaf ve müsellemlerdir

[community of salt producers, they have in their hands imperial patents (confirming) that they have to give a tithe of their product and be free and exempt from dues]

Kariye-i Hrisopoli

Müslim[ân]: İnebeği Hızır; Karaca;

Gebr[ân]:

1) Kaloyur Rayas; 2) Dimos İstanopol; 3) Todor Lambrinos; 4) İstanopulo İspan; 5) Manol Ahiradi; 6) İspilyot; 7) Lamnos; 8) Dimos Filomat; 9) Panayot; 10) Yani veled-i Vanbaka; 11) Yorgi Maronikol; 12) Turas; 13) Kiryakos Bardas; 14) Papas; 15) Agapitos; 16) Yani Yahbaza; 17) Yani Aleksi; 18) Logaras; 19) Kiryakos Alanis; 20) Dimos Gyonas; 21) Manol Pahid; 22) Kosta; 23) Kürki Aleksi; 24) Todor Yanudi; 25) Dimos Todor; 26) Dikanas Pahidi; 27) Kalutas; 28) Kurubas; 29) Yani Biram; 30) Piskos; 31) Yani veled-i Fotino; 32) Yorgi Zihnyot; 33) İliyas; 34) Fotinos; 35) Mihal Vulgar; 36) İstamad Vulgar; 37) Yani Yanulo; 38) İstamad veled-i ...; 39) Saros; 40) Manol Çandari; 41) Yani Kalustos; 42) Radiç; 43) Dimos Altinos; 44) Dazosas; 45) Çankaris; 46) Atanas; 47) Yorgi Çankar; 48) Yorgi Papadiya; 49) Gabros Fotino; 50) İksenos; 51) Yani veled-i Fotino; 52) Hidiras; 53) Dragovan; 54) Bukras;

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1) Vasil; 2) Dimo veled-i Mavrudit; 3) Todor Papadiyas; 4) Novak Droyan; 5) Radivoy;
6) Fotinos; 7) Martinos; 8) Mihal Drusas; 9) Yorgi Harvali; 10) Dimos İstayko; 11) Mihal
Kordobi; 12) Dimos Alinos; 13) Kondo Bahos; 14) Manol Todor; 15) Yarodinas; 16)
Mihal Limno; 17) Kosta Angelo; 18) Todor Kalusto; 19) Kosta Boyko; 20) Çelkas; 21)
Tuvlas; 22) bive ... [zen-i] Madraniyas; 23) bive Klotobuna; 24) bive İskano; 25) bive ...
[zen-i] Radoslav; 26) bive İstamaduriya; 27) bive ... (?); 28) bive Kostanda; 29) bive
Branina; 30) bive Rika; 31) Hodivas; 32) bive Çukuldina;

hane-i Müslim: 2, hane-i Gebr: 76 bive: 10

Re'ayat:

1) Dingo Brudi; 2) Yani veled-i Rad; 3) Klovar; 4) Kosta;

hane: 4

hasıl-i re'ayat: 2241

1) 'an iskele-i mezkur: 600;

2) ispençe: 100;

3) gendüm: 15 kile-i Siroz, 720;

4) cev: 4 mud, 240;

5) 'alef: 2 mud, 100;

6) 'öşr-i bağ: 60;

7) zaferan: 21;

8) dalyan: 400;

Glossary

| | |
|---------------|---|
| added | number |
| agıl | enclosure for herds |
| agras | grazing field |
| ahen-ger | blacksmith |
| ahriyan | a convert to Islam |
| akça | <i>asper</i> , the standard Ottoman silver coin |
| alef | oats |
| al kâmile | in whole figure (for amounts of money etc.) |
| amil | headman, director |
| an | from |
| arabacı | carter |
| asiyab | water-mill |
| astarcı | maker / seller of <i>astar</i> headgear |
| aşçı | chef, cook |
| attar | maker / seller of perfum |
| ayrı | divorced wife |
| azade | freed slave |
| | |
| bab | building |
| bac-dar | collector of market dues |
| bac | market, tax on market transactions |
| bağ | vineyard |
| bağat | pl. of <i>bağ</i> |
| bakkal | greengrocer |
| bakla | beans |
| başmakçı | maker / seller of shoes and slippers |
| bazirgân | merchant |
| beha (paha) | price |
| belud (belut) | acorns |

| | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| berg | leaf |
| besatin | gardens, pl. of <i>bostan</i> |
| bıçakçı | maker / seller of knives |
| birader | brother |
| birader-i o | his brother, brother of the former |
| bostan | garden |
| bostancı | gardener |
| boyacı | dyer |
| boza | millet beer |
| bozacı | seller of <i>boza</i> |
| böğrülçe | black-eyed beans |
| börekçi | maker / seller of pastries |
| burçak | vetch |
| buzcu | seller of ice |
| camî | mosque |
| cay | in place of |
| cebelü | mounted soldier bearing an armor |
| cema'an | total sum |
| cema'at | community |
| cev | barley |
| ceviz | walnuts, walnut-tree |
| cizye | capital tax demanded from non-Muslims |
| çadır | tent |
| çavdar | rye |
| çeküççü | forge-hammer operator |
| çenger | cobbler (cf. Greek tzaggaris) |
| çerçi | peddler |
| çıkırıkçı | lathe operator |
| çiftçi | ploughman |

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| çilin-gir | locksmith |
| çırakçı | candle maker / seller |
| çizmeci | boot maker / seller |
| çopan | shepherd |
| çömlekçi | potter |
| çörekçi | maker / seller of cakes |
| çulah | weaver |
| dalyan | fishery |
| damad | son-in-law |
| darbhane | mint |
| daulcu | player of <i>davul</i> |
| debbag | tanner |
| defter | register |
| değirmenci | miller |
| dellak | bath attendant, masseur |
| dellal | town cryer |
| derzi (terzi) | tailor |
| diğer | other |
| dönüm | unit of surface measurement |
| duhter | daughter |
| dulger | carpenter |
| durud-ger | carpenter |
| dutumcu (tutumcu) | seller of sumac |
| dühne | millet |
| dükkân | shop |
| dükkândar | shop-keeper |
| el asıl | base amount |
| el bakî | remaining |
| eskici | seller of used goods |

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| eşcar | trees |
| etmekçi | baker |
| evvel | old, early |
| ez | from |
| fi sene | yearly |
| fi yevm | daily |
| gâh | hay, fodder |
| gavers | millet |
| gayr ez | without |
| gayri | other |
| gebr | infidel |
| geçim | a heavily armored mounted soldier |
| gendüm | wheat |
| göz | “eye”, expression for counting mill-stones |
| gulam | slave |
| günlük | awning |
| habbaz | baker |
| haddad | blacksmith |
| hafızân | wardens, guardsmen |
| hal | condition |
| halî | abandoned, deserted |
| hallaç | cotton-fluffer |
| hammal | carrier |
| hamamcı | bath attendant |
| hane | household |
| haric ez defter | not registered in a previous registration |
| has | a big fiscal domain |
| hasha | plural of <i>has</i> |

| | |
|-----------|---|
| hasıl | result, total sum |
| hasırcı | maker / seller of mats |
| hatib | preacher |
| hayyat | tailor |
| hazret | (his) excellence |
| helvalı | maker / seller of <i>helva</i> |
| hergele | horse herds |
| hınta | wheat |
| hinzır | swine |
| hidmetgâr | servant |
| hisse | share |
| hoşapçı | seller of steuved fruits |
| ibn | son |
| iklikçi | player of <i>iklik</i> |
| imam | prayer leader |
| incir | figs, fig tree |
| ipekçi | dealer in silk |
| iskele | berth, harbouring facility |
| ispençe | land-usage tax demanded from Christians |
| işçi | worker |
| işkâf | artisan (esp. carpenter) |
| iyci | seller of spindles |
| kabacı | cloak maker / seller |
| kadı | judge |
| kaftancı | maker / seller of <i>kaftan</i> |
| kalaycı | tinsmith |
| kalkancı | maker / seller of shields |
| kamhacı | dealer in velvet |
| kariye | village |

| | |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| kassap | butcher |
| katib | scribe |
| kavaf | cheap shoe maker / seller |
| kazancı | maker / seller of kettles |
| kazzaz | silk manufacturer |
| keçeci | felt or mat maker / seller |
| kefş-ger | shoemaker |
| kepek-pez | bran cook |
| kepezci | maker / seller of veils |
| kerbansaraycı | inn keeper |
| kerevvet | vine |
| kettan | flax |
| kettancı | dealer in linen |
| kettanı | dealer in linen |
| kıncı | maker / seller of sheaths |
| kısaççı | maker / seller of pincers |
| kıst-i bazar | tax on market transactions |
| kıt'a | piece |
| kılar-başı | head of the sultan's pantry |
| kilise | church |
| kile | unit of capacity for measuring grain |
| kireççi | lime burner |
| kiremid | ceramics, pottery |
| kiremidlik | pottery |
| kuyumcu | jeweller |
| külâh-duz | maker / seller of hats or caps |
| kürkçü | maker / seller of furs |
| leblebeci | maker / seller of roasted chickpeas |
| lokmacı | maker / seller of suits |

| | |
|--------------|---|
| ma' | with |
| mader | mother |
| magazacı | shop-keeper |
| mağfur | whose sins are forgiven |
| mahalle | neighbourhood, quarter |
| mahi | fish |
| mahsulat | products, crops |
| maktu | lump sum |
| manastir | monastery |
| mardımak | lentils |
| mehter | chamberlain |
| mercimek | lentils |
| merhum | deceased |
| mescid | mosque (literally a small mosque without minaret) |
| metaksopolis | dealer in silk |
| meyva | fruit |
| mezkur | aforementioned |
| mikremci | maker / seller of handkerchiefs |
| mimar | architect |
| monopoliye | right of monopolized sale of wine |
| muarrif | master of ceremonies |
| mudd | unit of bulk measurement (byz. <i>modios</i>) |
| mukata'a | lease, tax-farming |
| mutaf | maker / seller of mohair |
| muytab | maker / seller of mohair |
| muze-düz | maker / seller of boots |
| müezzin | prayer caller |
| mülk | freehold property |
| müslim | Muslim |

| | |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| naib | deputy to the <i>kadı</i> |
| nalçacı | who tips boots with iron |
| nalband | blacksmith |
| nan-peş | baker |
| nemet-ger | maker / seller of blankets |
| niyabet | fines |
| odabaşı | man in charge of the rooms in an inn |
| öşr | ten, tithe |
| palan-duz | maker / seller of pack-saddles |
| paluzeci | maker / seller of pudding |
| panayır | rural fair |
| papas | priest |
| papuççu | maker / seller of shoes or slippers |
| penbe | cotton |
| pine-duz | patcher, mender |
| resm | tax |
| resm-i 'arus | charge on weddings |
| sabunu | soap seller |
| sabuncu | soap seller |
| sahib-i ayar | assayer |
| sakka | water carrier |
| sarraç | leather manufacturer |
| sarraf | money changer |
| sekkakı | coiner |
| semerci | saddler |
| semseci | maker / seller of <i>semse</i> |
| sırçacı | glass or crystal seller |

| | |
|------------|---|
| siraccî | maker / seller of candles |
| skembeci | <i>skembe</i> cook |
| somuncu | weigher, seller of weights for balancing |
| subaşı | governor of a town and the surrounding district |
| surnazen | player of <i>zurna</i> |
| susam | sesame |
| şa'ir | barley |
| şehir | city |
| şemma' | maker / seller of candles |
| şerbetçi | maker / seller of sherbet |
| şıra | wine |
| şimşir-ger | maker / seller of swords |
| tabi-i | attached to |
| tacir | merchant |
| takyeci | maker / seller of scull caps |
| takye-duz | maker / seller of scull caps |
| tarla | field of arable |
| tenketür | smaller tent |
| tir-gir | maker / seller of arrows |
| tuccar | merchant |
| tut | mulberries, mulberry tree |
| tuzcu | producer or seller of salt |
| urgancı | maker / seller of ropes |
| ustad | master in a craft |
| üsküfcü | maker / seller of caps |
| vakıf | pious endowment |
| vazayif | plural of <i>vazife</i> |

| | |
|-----------|--|
| vazife | duty, official task |
| veled | son |
| veled-i o | his son, son of the former |
| vilayet | district |
| viran | ruined, abandoned |
| yağcı | dealer in oil |
| yazıcı | scribe |
| yekûn | total sum |
| yulaf | oats |
| zaferan | saffron |
| zeamet | a large fiscal domain (exceeding 20000 <i>aspers</i>) |
| zen | woman, wife |
| zemin | land |
| zer-ger | goldsmith |
| zeytin | olive, olive-tree |

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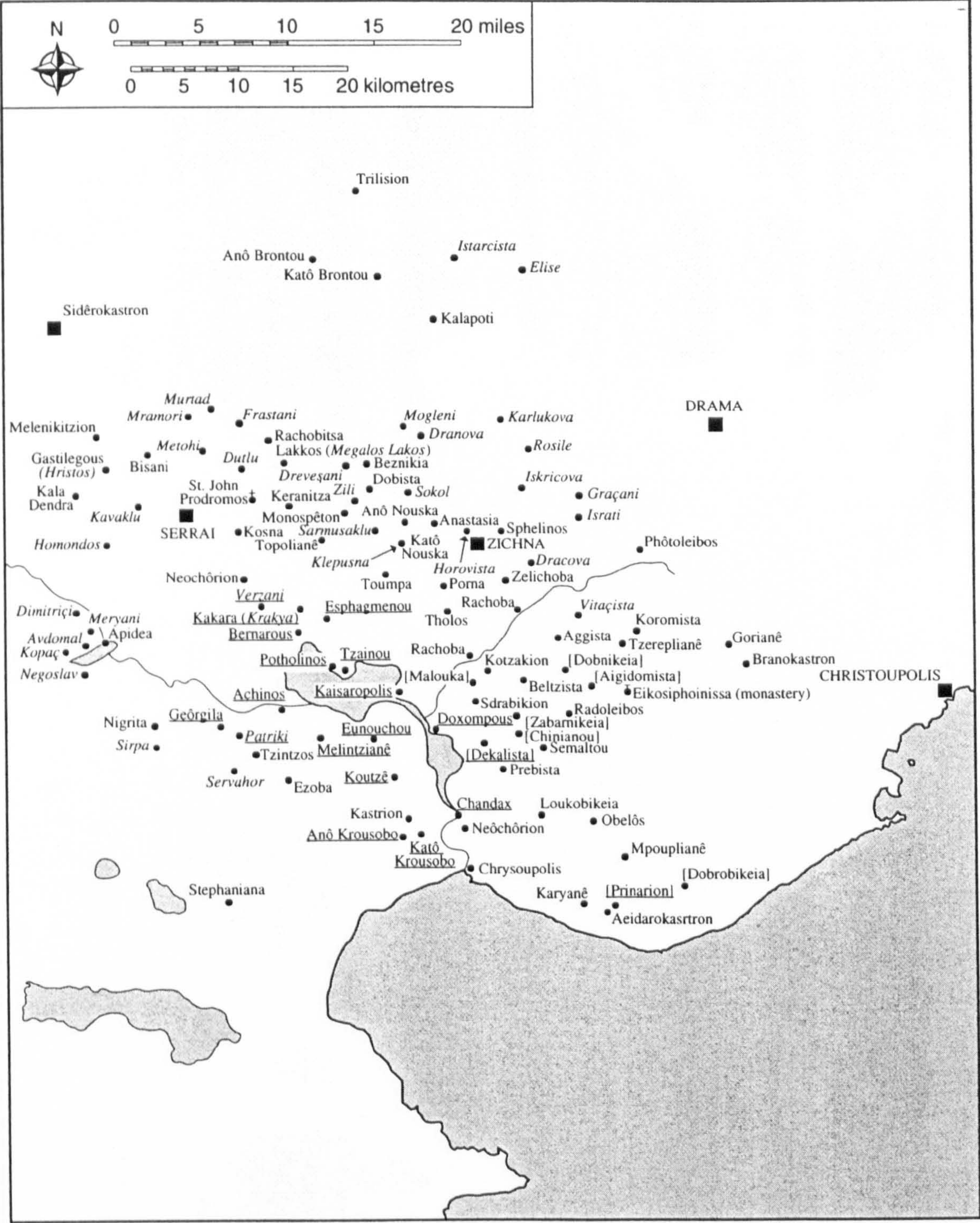
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MAPS

(All maps are reproductions of the first basic one, the settlements of our particular concern in each of them are pointed by underlining)



Map 1. Identifiable settlements of southeastern Macedonia



Map 2. Settlements where fishing activity is reported in the 14th and 15th centuries



Map 3. Settlements where harbouring charges or tolls are reported in the 14th and 15th centuries



Map 4. Settlements where a fair is reported in the 14th and 15th centuries



Map 5. Settlements where mining and related activities are reported in the 14th and 15th centuries

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پوسہ برلوق
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| 1 | رلد پنچ | 2 | کیر پنچ | 3 | توفیل پنچ | 4 | ویمو ولد | 5 | مجا ولد | 6 | لیر باو ولد |
| 7 | آرماناس | 8 | ماو ولد | 9 | توفور ولد | 10 | استما ولد | 11 | وودو ولد | 12 | ویمو ولد |
| 13 | مانو ولد | 14 | ویمو ولد | 15 | مامینور | 16 | بودور ولد | 17 | استماو ولد | 18 | ماغار پنچ |
| 19 | بابیل ولد | 20 | ماو ولد | 21 | توفور ولد | 22 | ویمو ولد | 23 | نور کور | 24 | مامینور |
| 25 | ماو ولد | 26 | ماو ولد | 27 | ویمو ولد | 28 | کیر مار ولد | 29 | ماقار ولد | 30 | ماپور |
| 31 | علاو ولد | 32 | ماپور | 33 | ماپور | 34 | ماپور | 35 | ماپور | 36 | ماپور |

طاعه رعایا و منفرد در عمر کوکب در سال اول مشهور

1. قاقوز 2. سقورلور 3. اوغورلور 4. يازولور 5. اولاخورلور 6. يازولور
 7. يازولور 8. سناخورلور 9. وگورلور 10. اولخورلور 11. ميناخورلور 12. لورلور
 13. بارما 14. آتساف 15. نورماس 16. بيلگي وار 17. بورلور 18. نورلور
 19. جاناندر 20. يازولور 21. استاخورلور 22. سناخورلور 23. ملورلور 24. بورلور
 25. زيبان

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همای از نو کان حضرت مریم معنور عازنی خدووند کار طاس زل

1 بار صالحي 2 وقف 3 فيلوا 4 ارستى 5 سلطان 6 دوو و ولد
كز منو سكو
7 ارانا 8 وقف 9 محال 10 واصلد 11 قومينو 12 وقف
دستو ارانا وارلد

13 دسائو 14 با 15 مارا 16 بکارت 17 فوخر 18 نورزبان

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۱۔ اس قورند

۱. مەدكۈر ۲. مېھناۋلار ۳. مال بولغۇچىلار ۴. ئورمانچىلار ۵. قەلەمچىلار ۶. ئورمانچىلار

7 وپونول
8 مانول
9 وپول
10 کورول
11 بکول
12 وپول

لورده اولد
لسکفین

1 مذکور 2 بانول ولد 3 منیریلد 4 فروستور 5 البینو ولد 6 بانول ولد

7 مانول ولد 8 بورکولد 9 منول 10 بورکولد 11 نوبار ولد 12 دووولد

13 سنالور غاوانا 14 مانولور لوزان 15 نورکولور چاقمايلار 16 بوزور قورلوجوت 17 مانولور غاوانا 18 قورلور غاوانا

19 فرنگ ولد 20 نور کا ولد 21 دیو بن ولد 22 لدو مان 23 جیبا نو 24 آنا بابہ

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ماہنامہ نو دور رس

1 مذکور 2 ویدو ولد 3 مانو ولد 4 اکیسی 5 ویدو 6 مانو

۴
واحد البند

۱۱ اس سنا جیوی

۱ مذکور ۲ مینور ۳ مایوس ولد ۴ ماکولد ۵ راسخو ۶ نور کے ولد

٧ مینوس ٨ مانول لڏ ٩ مانول ولڙ ١٠ ورتو ٺڙو ١١ مانسپوئس ١٢ ماناس

17 مور کلو علونا
14 سا اولد فلو دربی
15 زانا اولد زوعونا
16 سا اولد قالونو
17 مانول و ماروما
18 مانول و باسقالا

۱ سنار نو ۲۰۰ اغان و ولد ۲۱ صایان ۲۲ صایان و ولد ۲۳ قوشنو ۲۴ قوشنو و ولد ۲۵ قوشنو و ولد

25 مازنماو 26 باسنه 27 وروايتي 28 اورا كچه 29 ماروما 30 مارو

31 عوراء روللو لارو اما لاسر عوراء

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۱. مہاور ۲. انا ولد ۳. مہا ولد ۴. نور کو ۵. لفرسو ۶. بانول

۴ ابوسول ولد ملور
۸ پور کمال اوسی
۹ نور نور مانولہ
۱۰ دیوولہ پتوالہ
۱۱ فریبورڈ ولد قالہ
۱۲ دیوولہ شول

13 بورلو 14 آرینی 15 دوزلو 16 مانولو 17 مانولو 18 مانولو

۱۹ اولد فیلو ۲۰ اولد فیلو ۲۱ نور کلد ۲۲ چرسو ۲۳ قبدایه ۲۴ مكالو

25 نوروز
23 فراسو
21 والنور
20 کدوبان

مجلس السبعون

مذکور² اساسیوں
کریزی³ اساسیوں
کورس⁴ اور
میں⁵ اس
میں⁶ اس

۱ مذکور ۲ بابا پس ۳ نور ک ۴ مانول لہ ۵ باببلہ ۶ رلفیو

7 نوڻو ولد
بورک

8 الساس ولد
بنو فار

9 بورک
راوراس

10 انڀونور
سونهي

11 وڀوس

12 لارار

13 زېږون ځای غازی
14 زېږون ځای سېو
15 دوهم ځای ابا غازی
16 نور ځای ابا غازی
17 ماس ځای
18 ماس ځای

19 بورگه ولد 20 ساموئل 21 بورگه ولد 22 ناوللندار 23 فوسنه 24 ماسول

25 قوسه ولد 26 اندر سقو 27 ديموش ولد 28 و سقو 29 السوس 30 ياله ولد

37 مہی اولاد 32 سنابیس اولاد 35 پور اولاد 36 فوسیل اولاد
وہ سنو فو اما وراج نوراکا نوراکا نوراکا نوراکا

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۱۲۸ مزار اوس بجای باباس از کلاس

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۲ فستق و سونہ
۳ سناکادی
۴ سناکادی
۵ سناکادی
۶ سناکادی

7 منور له 8 نور فلاخ 9 مامس 10 وير نوک 11 مانو نوک 12 ويو نوک

73 نورالد
صامد
14 واصفندر
ماله
15 مچاپ
سویز
16 وگو
صاموونا
17 وگو
وگو
18 نورالد
نورک

19 ولد 20 ولد 21 بنجار 22 استغفر 23 ولد 24 ولد

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31 قالونين قورون صوفين انكوس ميلا 32 33 34 35 36 بورلو ملسا

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* لغاتو نوسو
۴۳ امنوریم
۴۵ بوسا
۴۶ تیر نوچو
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۴۸ مانا ریه

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59. اوڭرئىك
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61. قارمىش
62. قونداڭچى
63. لىۋىز
64. قونداڭچى

61 مفلو 62 مفلو 63 مفلو 64 مفلو 65 مفلو 66 مفلو

$\frac{24}{24}$

باب ۱۱

۱ مدکور ۲ بسکینی ۳ زنگلوس ۴ کد و نجات ۵ فوساند ۶ علاقه

مکمل درویشی

ولد 8 ولد 9 ولد 10 ولد 11 ولد 12

جسٹو ۱۴ راج ۱۵ ولد ۱۶ قائد سیر ۱۷ فوسہ

۲۰ بھولہ ۲۱ منور اولہ ۲۲ مکرہ ۲۳ لکھوہ ۲۴ کوروہ ۲۵ ستوہ
 ۲۶ فاداسبار ۲۷ فوسفز ۲۸ آکسوز ۲۹ جادوام ۳۰ بلبر

26 ملائور
27 فاسیل
28 سلو
29 قومینو
30

ولاء رنجنه
 قاصد محمد باقا آتاله
 رنجنه

1 رسلر مصطفی محمد قاسم رنجوس 6 ابدین ولد
 مغرمی مغرمی ولاح
 7 قاسم ولد 8 مغرمی 9 صلی 10 ابدینک 11 شجاع 12 ابدین ولد
 13 ابدین ولد 14 ابدین ولد 15 فزونی 16 محمد 17 رسلر 18 قوروز
 19 مصطفی شایر زلف 20 شایر زلف 21 محمد 22 ابدین زلف 23 قاسم زلف 24 رنجوس زلف
 25 رسلر 26 صلی 27 قوروز 28 قوروز 29 محمد 30 قوروز
 31 رسلر 32 علی ولد 33 محمد 34 مصطفی 35 صلی 36 رسلر
 37 رسلر 38 رسلر 39 رسلر 40 رسلر 41 رسلر 42 رسلر

مامانور بابا بشارتور

1 مذکور 2 بورک 3 کرباقلو 4 کرباقلو 5 ابدین 6 ولاح
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 19 رسلر 20 رسلر 21 رسلر 22 رسلر 23 رسلر 24 رسلر
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 61 ماندار 62 ماندار 63 ماندار 64 ماندار 65 ماندار 66 ماندار

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صلو حامد سکه کرم

سویاچی بایرید بک ولد آریک

ولا زنجیه

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ملک علی یک ولد سعید یک مندر شهر پور

معلک لوری عینا
 لوی دوم
 قریب
 مفا طع
 زمین ماعات جریه
 عثمانان عا بان
 ۲۲ دوم ۲۲ دوم

و قه مسجد اسعید یک الم نور

دکا کبر
 ۵۱ بابا
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ملک شنه خاتون

فر مور و بچ

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صورتی که با بیان هر روز فایده بسیار میسر شود و با بیان
سنة ۸۳۳ هجری فایده بسیار میسر شود و در هر یک روز خاصه که نوشته شده
فانوا لورید

اوریل
طوغان

عمر ولد
طوغان

مصطفیٰ ولد
طوغان

محمد ولد
امیر علی

نضر ولد
فرالوق

محمد ولد
فرالوق

یو وارنو ولد باوو ولد وچوو ولد کرو ولد مچوو ولد

بولد نودور بقدار مارقود ولف

میری سقرال میو و لور و لور و لور

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یا نبی

روان
میانو

مرصو
و بمقنن

نور و نور
رلد و ی

مذہب
کوردو

و لجان

میں
اساتذہ

کورسو
کورو

نور
براه

نام و
پدر و مادر

سازمان
روانشناسی

دستار
در احوال

لقد ورد
رأسه

وہو
ہو

بور
رسانه

مسلم
عمره

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1. ناماس بلومید 2. نامان اولد 3. نامایوردک 4. ناماس مونسور 5. ناماس قومسور 6. ناماس وونون

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وتوفى بلف

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٣ بوراورد
نولوبست
٤ قوسلد
پرسرپوست
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لراابل
٦ رسلوب
خاڭاڭوري

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بابرید ولد حاجی اولاد مصطفی ولد عجمی درویش

نیک کبکوزد فرزند بوزانی کبکوزد بابوچی

دین جانی زین موسی درویش طوطی درویش

بو بالی لعل بو بالی

حاجی قور

حاجی عطار حاجی عیدی ولب حاجی عیدل

عجم حکیم مبارک مصطفی صومالی خلیل

محمود جانا مصطفی بنار عجمی حاجی طاع

دینعلی کبکوزد حاجی عیدل کبکوزد

محمد قاسم لطفی سرور

نور کور وک الدن زمان مایون واد وک عس نوین حاجی معاف و مسلم لولال

صالح وینه

وس مبارک کال زلفه قور زلفه بوسف

صفیال صیال لیس حاجی طور سیر

فوسندم ندانی کور من کمال قونور

کاشان غب بوسف کاشان کبکوزد

میر سالد ابریز علی ولد طور علی

منزک عیدل صرلدر حاجی سنا

دین جانی درویش کبکوزد کبکوزد

دین جانی

بدرالدین بد

صام مصطفی منجی سلیمان موسی قورکوز

مصطفی ابریزم قورکوز رمضان سندر

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روم ولد بوسف عبدل عبدل

عیدل ولد محمد عبدل عبدل

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محمد ولد
رضا
فصیح
امین
سید علی
جلال

محرور بنو سید

۱. نام ۲. عرب ۳. طور ۴. صومالی ۵. اوسمان ۶. مصطفیٰ

کوز محمدی حاکم عبدی حاکم لیلوی حمزہ ولد بنی قن

١٦ اسحاق بن جبرئيل
١٧ محمد بن مهابو

اسماء² یونس³ یونس⁴ یونس⁵ یونس⁶ یونس⁷

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[illegible]